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CONTENTS

COMMENTS	By the Editor	Page 129
WOMEN AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	By Patricia M. McCrudden	141
APPROACH TO FATIMA	By C. C. Martindale	152
A QUAKER ARISTOCRAT AND PIUS VII.....	By H. W. J. Edwards	160
THE BLACK DEATH	By R. G. Cookson	167
ARGENTINE IMPRESSIONS	By John Murray	173
MISCELLANEA		182
I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.		
The ' <i>Jesu dulcis memoria</i> ' translated by G. M. Hopkins, S.J.		
The Background of the " Fioretti."		
II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES.		
REVIEWS		187
1.—Le Père Arthur Vermeersch, S.J.; L'homme et l'oeuvre. By J. Creusen, S.J.		
2.—The New Testament; Douay Version, with notes by Rev. J. P. Arendzen, D.D., Ph.D., M.A.		
3.—De la Civilisation chrétienne. By Pierre Fernessole, S.C.J.		
4.—Les Paradoxes du Buddhism. By Taymann d'Eypernon, S.J.		
SHORT NOTICES		151, 159, 184, 190

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VOL. CLXXXIV

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EDITORIAL COMMENTS

The New Austerity

AS a people, we are learning to accustom ourselves to economic crises. There was the crisis of last winter ; there is now the crisis of the late summer. What is ominous perhaps is that it was perfectly clear at the time of the first crisis that the second would very shortly follow. This has meant further restrictions and an austerity even more grim. That these measures were, in the main, necessary, is beyond question ; that they will be accepted in the right spirit is in the tradition of the people of Britain. Yet, they cannot fail to have serious psychological consequences which it would be well for the Government to bear closely in mind. They will bring more depression and weariness to a people that made very great sacrifices throughout six war years and have been cheated during two years after victory of what they not unnaturally expected. Short-term austerity becomes bearable only in the light of longer-term encouragement. And little of that encouragement has yet dawned.

Recrimination in itself is of little value. It would be, in any case, recrimination against circumstances rather than against men. Since the end of the war, world conditions have not returned to normal, not even to any tolerable post-war normality. There exists a general feeling of insecurity, heightened by the inability of the Great Powers to conclude peace treaties with Germany and by the sharp decline in prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations Organization. The problem with which the world is faced in the existence and policies of Soviet Russia—for that, bluntly, lies at the root of this insecurity—has gravely interfered with economic restoration. The partition of Europe into two portions and the collapse of the German industrial system have rendered European recovery an impossibility. This was not foreseen two years ago, though a more realistic approach would have prepared for its recognition. Other factors too enter into the picture. Among them, the unique position of the United States. The present status of the U.S.A. as the one great undamaged centre of industrial production has brought about a world shortage of American currency. The world is in dire need of American goods,

while America itself has nothing like the same need of imports from other countries.

However, certain facts require emphasis if we are to face realities at home. It is doubtless good to learn that an intensive agricultural drive is to be undertaken. But why was this campaign delayed until 1947? It would have been smoother and easier to have continued in 1947 the efforts made during the war for higher agricultural production. The need for it was then as great as throughout the war years. In any case, such an agricultural programme can bring only long-term results. One of the chief criticisms that can be levelled against the present Government is that it has thought too much in terms of reform and too little in those of recovery, oblivious of the reality that, if there is no short-term recovery, there is little hope of long-term reform. Immediate difficulties have not been confronted with the energy and urgency that were required. More attention has been devoted to the provision of a neat, dove-tailed scheme of national transport for the 1950's than to the transport of food and necessities in hungry 1947; and to the nationalisation of the coal mines than to the production of coal. Even the long range planning has been spasmodic and frequently motivated, it would appear, more by a political programme, sadly out of touch with present emergencies, than by the emergencies themselves. Writing early in August, *The Economist*, after declaring itself in favour of a general direction of economic effort, confessed that post-war experiences had considerably altered its belief: "Here was a situation that should have been easy to diagnose, and a set of controls already in existence more far-reaching than any Socialist planner ever dreamed of. Yet if 'planning' is defined not merely as the efforts of the small group of self-confessed planners at the centre, but as the net cumulative effect upon the economic system of all the actions and policies of the State, there can hardly be any room for doubt that it has been bad. If ever a community had been more planned against than planning, it has been Britain in the last two years".

Austerity is Not Enough

WHILE we recognize and accept the need for restrictive measures, it must roundly be declared that these measures are not sufficient to do more than help the people of Britain to face the awkward circumstances of the present time. They cannot remedy them. The remedy has to be looked for elsewhere. In the first place, it will have to come from outside. Here, Britain stands with the remaining countries of Western Europe and requires assistance from the United States. The Marshall offer of aid to Europe is at once a recognition that the U.S.A. cannot retain its own prosperity if Britain and the countries of Western Europe become increasingly impoverished—and in fact that this impoverishment of the European countries is bound

in time to impoverish the United States ; and the expression, also, of a genuine American readiness to come to Europe's help.

The Marshall offer supposes, however, two conditions.

The first is that of *mutual help*. In the case of Britain there arises at once a difficulty. The British Government has invoked article VII of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement, and the Bretton Woods arrangement, whereby under specific conditions, the American dollar could be declared a scarce currency. In that event, the agreement to convert sterling into dollars ceases, and with it the agreement not to make special arrangements with other countries and other currencies. Mr. Bevin, at Southport, at least ventilated the notion of a Customs Union between the members of the British Commonwealth. It seems fantastic, in the light of Britain's present economic plight and the changed circumstances of Britain's economy for the future, that some clearer and closer scheme of inter-Commonwealth co-operation was not studied and elaborated two years back. The arguments in favour of the American loan to Britain were always slender and, at best, temporary ; and our difficulties of the present moment were, if not foreseen, at least viewed as a serious possibility when the loan proposals were debated. However, once the loan was accepted and its responsibilities incurred, Britain was placed in a different category from that of the Western European peoples. Further aid to Britain will be forthcoming but it is not likely to be unconditional.

The situation of Continental countries is simpler. Their need is, for the present, greater as their situation is more exposed. For reasons, political as well as economic, the United States cannot view with equanimity a Western Europe, drifting further into chaos and disintegration, and becoming thereby the prey of Russian subversive propaganda and plans for military aggression. But here too, collaboration between these countries is insisted upon. Mutual help must go hand in hand with help from the U.S.A., and very rightly so. The Paris Conference, held by the sixteen countries anxious to adjust themselves to the Marshall offer, to plan mutual assistance, and to receive supplementary aid from the United States, has now reached its conclusions. In the interests of Europe, it is to be trusted that the U.S. Government will act speedily, now that it has received the Paris recommendations.

Self-Help

MUTUAL help involves *self-help*. It is on this point that strong criticism has been directed against Britain. The British Government—it is argued—has pursued in times of adversity a social policy which could be successful and justified only in an era of prosperity. It has shortened hours of work, and tolerated rises in wages—excellent developments when a country's structure can shoulder them. Social reform is a fine and a necessary ideal ; and the better-

ment and extension of the social services, provided that tendencies towards too great State interference are guarded against, is admirable as a project ; but neither aim can profitably be achieved in the face of certain solid economic facts. Here, once again, the emphasis has been overmuch on reform and all too little on recovery. Doubtless, the Government felt, as it has so frequently stated, that it had a mandate for reform ; but mandates have little value against economic facts. It would be a poor and miserable excuse for ruining a country to say that it was done in response to some imaginary or even real mandate from the people. A Government is elected primarily to govern ; this means, to deal with the present problems of the country as sensibly, as efficiently and as fair-mindedly as possible, and to the general advantage of the country, not for that of any particular class.

It is now clear that the Government is trying to reverse its policy, at least to the extent of asking for more work and greater production. It has warned the country that its recovery depends upon higher production of coal ; it has begged the miners to work harder and for some extra hours. Yet, it is the reality and the tragedy of the present situation that more coal is not being produced, and that the winter of 1947-48 is likely to witness the same breakdown and the same interference with productive industry that marked the winter of 1946-47. The prestige of Britain abroad has always been high, and it soared to remarkable heights during the war. Nothing has harmed that prestige abroad so seriously as the strike of the Yorkshire miners in August and September. At the moment of the most grievous crisis, when the people of Britain were asked to accept measures of crippling austerity, men in the most fundamental industry for the country's recovery have remained for weeks on strike. And neither the authority of the Government which they elected nor that of the National Coal Board, set up in response to their demands for State control, nor the regular machinery established for the settlement of disputes, nor the country's evident need was able for weeks to induce them to return to work. British papers have sounded their notes of warning. *The Times*, for instance, stated, on August 30th : "The strike may leave lasting marks on relations within the industry. It is doing harm to the miners as a whole, to the trade union movement, harm to the Government the men support, and grievous harm to their country." *The Yorkshire Post* commented, on September 5th : "The renewal of coal exports from Britain would have a far-reaching effect on the European situation. It is lamentable that there should be a serious stoppage in the mines at a time when the peoples of Western Europe are looking to Britain for leadership in the work of reconstruction when it is most needed. That is why *The New York Times*, in a comment quoted to-day, suggests that the coal in the ground in Yorkshire may be more important now than gold".

These Yorkshire strikes raise the question of nationalisation within

a democratic framework such as that of Britain. Under free enterprise, a strike is action on the part of employees against employers. Above them are other bodies—in the last resort, the Government—which can intervene and help to adjudicate or adjust the dispute; there are third parties and, if needs be, a Third Party of great influence. Under nationalisation, however, a strike is against the Government or the Government's instrument, in this instance, the National Coal Board. No third parties remain; there is no appeal. Should such a strike be forced to an ultimate decision, there are only two alternatives. Either the Government must compel the men to return to work or must give in to the men's demands. The one direction leads towards the Totalitarian State; the other is the road to anarchy. State ownership is part and parcel of the economy of a country like Russia, where coal strikes do not occur. It fits less happily into the economic framework of a democratic country. Advocates of nationalisation will argue that strikes do not happen in nationalised industries—or scarcely ever happen—since the men are now the owners of the industry, just as the Communist will insist that workers do not strike in Russia firstly because they are supremely contented, and then because there are no capitalists against whom they could go on strike. In neither case is the argument convincing.

Beyond Restrictions

THERE is no alternative to the present British policy of austerity. As a short-term programme, it is inevitable. However, in the present world economy, it must lead to what might appear reprisals, even when they are not intended in a retaliatory spirit. On September 11th the Argentine Government forbade the shipment of tinned meat to Britain, largely because Britain had suspended the convertibility of sterling into dollars. The imposition of restrictions in one country is bound to lead to similar restrictions in others. The ban on Britons travelling in foreign countries except for strictly business reasons must have an adverse effect on foreign travel to Britain. You cannot build up a flourishing tourist industry at home and forbid your own nationals to move abroad.

Further, any attempt to create what seems like a closed economy will be a temptation to other countries to do likewise. Not that Britain would or could create such an economy, completely alien to her commercial traditions, except within the larger unity of the Commonwealth. And even were Commonwealth preferences more fully developed this would not be a closed economy in the technical sense. None the less, a reduction of imports to Britain from some particular country might provoke a similar reduction in the amount of exports from Britain which that country would take: in which event the austerity policy would have missed its point.

To-day the export problem has become a serious one. Most

Continental countries have to restrict their imports for the reason for which Britain has had to lessen hers. East-Central Europe, under Russian control, and Russia itself are practically outside the ordinary world markets. Add to these factors the producing power of the United States, which enables that country to provide goods more quickly, in larger quantities, and often more economically, than the countries of Europe.

Restriction, except as an emergency measure, is certainly not enough. What is wanted is more and more production, with all its consequences of harder work and even longer hours. The Trade Unions have accepted for the time being, a measure of direction of labour. *The Observer*, for August 31st, commented upon this sadly, with the remark that "though it may be unavoidable as an emergency, it is not a progressive but a reactionary move—a confession of the failure of our industrial system to provide the right incentives and right machinery for matching men with jobs". That may be so, though the expression "matching men with jobs" sounds suspiciously like direction. Yet, the urgency is obvious, and be it noted, the policy of "direction", in its moderate form, has not been dictated by the Government, but accepted, after discussion, by the representatives of the workers.

The tangled condition of the world's economy makes us believe that some new international system must be worked out and brought into being, if a balanced world economy is to be restored. Just as politically Governments have come to realise that they cannot remain isolated from one another but together must face and resolve world problems, so in the economic field must a new order be introduced. And this new order must transcend the old balance sheets of exports and imports and permit all peoples to make their proper contribution to the world's resources, in terms of raw materials or work or craftsmanship or technical leadership and skill. Only so will a balance be struck between the new "haves" and the new "have nots" and—what is equally important—only so can those parts of the world be developed which call for development, such as India, Africa, and some regions in South America, for the advantage of their peoples and of the whole world order.

Europe and Germany

THE recovery of Continental Europe has been delayed by several factors. This is not to say that certain countries have not shown remarkable qualities of recuperation, witness the Dutch and Belgians, who have recently concluded a Customs Union with the people of Luxembourg. A similar project was discussed at the meeting in late August of the Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland. Doubts about Russia's attitude to the project made them tread warily. In an interview, published in *Politika* for August 27th,

the Norwegian Foreign Minister stated : "A united Scandinavia is not practical politics ; whereas a unanimous Scandinavia is in the highest degree practical politics". That was a judicious statement, and in the best European tradition, respecting local loyalties and liberties but calling for a high measure of genuine collaboration.

The economy of the Continent has been gravely disrupted by the collapse of Germany and just as heavily by the unnatural division of Europe into two halves. The Continent is one economic system. Prior to 1939 a balance existed between the more or less industrialised West and the predominantly agricultural East. The Danube basin was the granary of the Continent, while the North-West regions provided most of the coal and steel. If the European economy is to be restored, the iron curtain must be lifted so that normal relations can be resumed between the peoples to its East and West.

In the same way, the problem of Germany must be settled. Western Europe cannot flourish as long as Germany remains in economic destitution. It cannot flourish without assistance from Germany. Besides, German industry has to be revived to provide for the needs of the German people ; they cannot continue to live, however miserably, on outside supplies. Now that the Americans and British have finally written off the Potsdam agreement, which provided for a joint policy in Germany of all the four occupying Powers, they have come to a new arrangement with regard to their two Western zones. They have decided that the level of German steel production in the Ruhr is to be raised from the 5,800,000 tons, previously permitted, to the level of production of 1936, namely, 10,700,000 ingot tons. The American view, accepted by the British, is that Germany—at least the American and British zones of Germany—must be taught to pay its way and to cease to be an economic burden upon the occupying Powers. In effect, of course, the two countries see further than this and realise that the three Western zones of Germany will have to be recreated as a new Germany, shorn of the Eastern zone and without any co-operation from the Russians. There is just the possibility, though it must seem faint, that at the November meeting of the Foreign Ministers, which is to deal once again with the question of a peace treaty with Germany, the Russians will make sufficient concessions to prevent the final hardening of Germany and Europe into two portions. The possibility is "faint", because the U.S. Government is ready to adopt with Russia a very firm line indeed. The November conference offers the last chance of co-operation between Russia and the West ; if it be missed or deliberately wasted, it is likely that there will be rapid changes within the United Nations Organization and a speedy clarification of international positions.

A glance at the list of German imports into other Western European countries prior to 1939 will show how dependent were these countries on Germany, and how the war collapse of Germany has necessarily

affected the economy of these countries. Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Italy, and Switzerland all took more than twenty per cent. of their imports from Germany. Germany was the second largest exporter of coal in Europe (Britain was the first, but here circumstances have sadly altered). She was the second largest world exporter of pig iron and ingot steel. She was the biggest exporter of potash and machine tools. Indeed, the German export of machine tools was greater than that of the United States, Britain, and Russia combined. The sorry condition of Germany to-day is due, in an overwhelming measure, to German responsibility. Yet, the fact remains that the people of Germany have to be given the chance of living a human existence and of playing their part in a revived and reconstructed Europe. The welfare of other peoples depends upon this revival of a human level of existence inside Germany. Mr. Harold Macmillan recently spoke of the "frozen, unworkable and dazed economy" in Germany, and he was referring to the British zone. What is frozen needs to be thawed; the unworkable must be rendered workable; the dazed shaken into activity and life.

France and Germany

IT must be confessed that the French Government looks with some apprehension upon the plans of Britain and the United States to bring about a return of German industry, especially of Ruhr industry, to the 1936 level. This is quite understandable. Firstly, this raising of the German steel output must mean that exports of Ruhr coal to France will be reduced for the time being, and may even cease altogether. The result will be a lessening of steel production in France. The shortage of coal due to the new programme for the British and American zones of Germany, heightened by the inability of Britain to export coal, is a very serious drawback to European revival.

The French have grave reasons to distrust and fear Germany; and the total defeat of the Germans in the last war will not have removed those feelings. The French resent the slowness of the Americans—and with them the British—to consider the problem of German reconstruction in the wider terms of European security. They would have preferred to wait for the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in November in the hopes that some last-minute concessions by Russia would have enabled the Great Powers to treat the German question as one whole and thus to place its solution within a setting of general security, guaranteed by the Great Powers and the United Nations Organization. The French believe that American assistance to Germany ought to be given only with definite guarantees that it will not be misapplied, possibly in the form of reparations, or under some international supervision. Little or nothing was said on this subject during the Anglo-American discussions on Germany; this has not allayed French misgivings.

It has been said that the French think in terms of the last war but one ; this scarcely takes account of the grave injuries that France has suffered at the hands of Germany during the past three generations. However, to-day it seems that Western Europe has passed beyond the crucial stages of Franco-German rivalry. If Europe survives it will do so in terms other than those of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. France and a new Germany—a smaller Germany with its centre of gravity placed much farther towards the West—will have to face problems more serious than that of the ownership of Alsace-Lorraine. That guarantees should be given against a renewal of German aggression is reasonable but this is scarcely the most immediate of European problems. What is more to the actual point is that Germany should be enabled to contribute her share to the general resources of European reconstruction and should become a help to, not a burden upon, other peoples.

Russian Manœuvres

THE November meeting between Russia and the Western Powers offers the last practical opportunity for Russian collaboration with the West. The hopes of such co-operation must remain slender. Indeed, there are many signs that Russia is endeavouring to secure a firmer hold on the countries from which she must shortly evacuate her military forces and also upon Eastern Germany. During August several attacks were launched, in the Berlin paper of the Russian Military Government, *Tägliche Rundschau*, on Jakob Kaiser and Ernst Lemmer, the leaders of the Christian Democratic Union in the Russian zone. These leaders have shown a measure of independence that is not welcomed by the Russian-sponsored Socialist Unity Party. With the Liberal Democrats, the Christian Democratic Union has resisted the introduction, into the so-called Anti-Fascist Front, of representatives of various trade unions, women's societies and youth organizations, on the grounds that these were not political parties but puppet societies, created by the Russians. Relations have now been more effectively arranged between the sections of the C.D.U. in the Russian zone and their counterpart in the Western zones, where their chief figure is Dr. Adenauer. The Russian paper accuses Kaiser and Lemmer of betraying the interests of the working-class members of the C.D.U. and associating themselves with the "reactionary" policies of Dr. Adenauer and the Western C.D.U., which, in the natural expression of Russian propaganda, is said to have become the tool of the Americans. In other words, the Russians are finding it difficult to make Kaiser and Lemmer sing in tune with the Socialist Unity Party of their own creation. The difference—this Russian inspired paper goes on to say—between the C.D.U. in the Russian and the other zones is that, in the former, it has the support of the "masses", whereas in the latter the leaders are out of touch with, and indeed have betrayed,

the "masses". The paper threatened an appeal to the party "masses" over the heads of its present leaders. This is ominous, since a similar crisis was provoked in December, 1945. Then Dr. Hermes, chairman of the C.D.U., and Dr. Schreiber, his deputy, fell into disgrace with the Russian authorities because of their outspoken criticism of the way in which land reform was carried through in the Soviet zone of Germany. After they had refused Russian demands for their resignation, a regional assembly of C.D.U. delegates was improvised, at which their resignation was compelled.

This attack upon the C.D.U. leaders may presage a Russian campaign to abolish or, as they did in Hungary with the Smallholders, to weaken the Christian Democratic Party. The policy is less likely to succeed than in Hungary, where the Smallholders' group was divided from the start. However, it may well mean a Russian determination not to lose hold upon Eastern Germany in any way whatsoever and to secure complete political control, even after Russian troops have retired.

The Hungarian election results of August 31st marked another advance in the Russian policy of control of Hungary. Peace treaties have now been ratified; therefore, in Soviet eyes, it was expedient to secure a more close hold on Hungarian internal administration. For more than a year, there have been frequent attacks upon the Hungarian Smallholders' party, which obtained sixty per cent. of the votes in the 1945 elections; and on each occasion deputies of the Party were robbed of their seats in Parliament and other members were arrested, on the grounds that they were "Fascists" or "unfriendly to the new Hungarian democratic spirit". Finally, the Premier, Ferenc Nagy, had himself to fly from Hungary because it had become impossible to continue in office on account of Communist insolence, abetted by the Russian army. The recent elections followed the plan with which we have been made familiar in the past three years where Russian influence has predominated. If there was less violence than in Roumania, care was taken to see that a large number of citizens could not use their franchise. The British and American Governments stated publicly, prior to the elections, that as many as 1,000,000 electors, or 20 per cent. of the people would be deprived of their electoral rights. M. Dinnyes, the Prime Minister before the elections, had to admit that the number was at least as high as 466,000, though he contended that 170,000 of this figure represented Swabian Germans, due for repatriation to Germany, while the remaining 300,000 would be restored to their electoral privileges as soon as possible—that is, after the election, when it would not greatly matter. There was widespread evidence of Communist flying gangs which voted over and over again in village after village. What is significant apart from the undue pressure of Russians and Communists, is that the number of Communist votes, even by these methods, increased only

to 21 per cent. and that the votes of the Smallholders declined catastrophically from 60 to under 15 per cent. Much of this decline is due to the weak and divided attitude of the party on fundamental issues since 1945. The new People's Democratic Party, which is Catholic and in opposition, received 16 per cent. of the votes, thus becoming the second most numerous party in the new Assembly.

The Hungarian election results mark little change in the political situation where, because of Russian support, the Communists occupy most key positions and determine both the domestic and foreign policies of the country. However, they do register one further step in the control of Hungary and in its removal from all Western contacts.

The Tragedies in India

THE appalling massacres which took place so shortly after the transfer of power to India and Pakistan and the reign of terror now widespread in the Punjab make one reflect upon the lighthearted folly which supposed that this transfer was a simple business, and that all that the new dominions required for prosperity was the departure of the British. Our Left-wing writers have for so long depreciated the rule in British India that one is tempted to remind them that, whatever its deficiencies, it did preserve reasonable peace between the Indian communities and had a tolerably high standard of administration. It is not without significance that the first disorders in the new dominions were not directed against the British but were an organized attack of one community upon another. In fact, reports show that, in certain cases where British officers and representatives were able to intervene, they saved the lives and property of thousands. And for administration, the Pakistan Government has sent more than four hundred letters to former members of the Indian Civil Service, begging them to serve under the new Government on very generous terms.

This is not to cast aspersions on the two Governments, for they have done what they could to put a stop to the massacres and to alleviate the distress of the survivors. It is now evident that the terror was prepared and unleashed by the Sikhs and they followed a carefully arranged plan for exterminating the Moslems in the Eastern Punjab. Eye-witness accounts of what they did are horrible and gruesome in the extreme. The massacres have provoked retaliation against Hindus and Sikhs in what came to be, in the words of Pandit Nehru, a competition in retaliation. A *Times* correspondent reported, on September 5th, that more than a million, and possibly two million, Moslems were trekking Westwards from the Eastern Punjab, and that large caravans of Sikhs and Hindus could be observed moving Eastwards. So fierce has grown the tension that it would seem impossible that Moslems can live any longer in the Eastern districts of the Punjab or Sikhs and Hindus in the Western regions. The refugee problem

is tragic and immense ; it is the problem of the Displaced Persons over again and on a scale nearly as large and with a development many times more rapid. At Hoshiapur there were 120,000 Moslems in eleven reception camps, whereas nearly 300,000 Sikhs have left one region of the Western Punjab. Indian and Pakistan forces have done their best to save and succour the refugees, following the wise policy that, wherever evacuees have to be protected and escorted through hostile territory, the guards and escorts will be of the same community as the evacuees. The disaster has been, on the whole, localised, though train attacks occurred in Sind, tension was evident in Delhi, and the inevitable rioting took place in Calcutta.

The tragedy has been most cruel, bringing torture and death to tens of thousands and acute distress to millions. It points the way to what will be the most difficult of all the problems which the new dominions have to study and resolve. Words like "democracy" and "liberty" will be so much mockery until these realities are faced.

The Rio Conference

ON the Feast of the Assumption a congress opened at Rio de Janeiro, at which the United States and the twenty Central and South American States were represented. The U.S. delegation was a strong one and was led by General Marshall. President Truman visited the Brazilian capital to take part in the concluding sessions.

The Rio Conference and the treaty signed by the countries that took part in it mark a further step towards united American action in the event of aggression or actual war. Canada has not associated herself with this agreement, but the links between Canada and the U.S.A. are already sufficiently developed to make collaboration there a very practical matter. The fact that the conclusions of the Rio congress have been attacked in the Communist papers as weapons of "Yankee Imperialism" show that the Communists have a shrewd notion against which Power the agreement is primarily directed. It is no secret that the United States Government, as also the Governments of several South American countries, have been alarmed by Communist propaganda and infiltration in Latin America, where discontent has been played upon, and rivalries exploited, in the Soviet interest.

The final meetings took place on September 2nd, and the Press of the United States, as also of Brazil and the Argentine, has judged the conference a genuine success ; though, at least in the Argentine, a few journals have criticised it as involving too definite an influence of the United States on the policies of Latin American countries. During the congress, President Truman interchanged letters with the Holy Father—a fact which gave great satisfaction to the Catholics of South America. And, in his speech on September 2nd, he definitely blamed the Soviet Union for the delays in world recovery and for the frustration of international efforts to frame peace treaties and to make the United Nations Organization a working reality.

WOMEN AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

IT may, at first sight, appear out of date to make a plea for equality for women in education from this age of enlightenment and feminine freedom. The voices which raised a continuous cry in the cause of emancipation throughout the last century are no longer heard in the educational world, for on all sides it is assumed that the women were victorious in their struggle for equality. "So far as education is concerned," writes Herbert Ward, in his analysis of the English educational system, "the 'emancipation' of women was practically completed by 1900. They were already admitted to the Universities, though they could not be full members of the University of Oxford until after the War, and are not yet full members of Cambridge. But in all other directions there have been no further barriers to remove and so far as educational administration is concerned the two sexes enjoy the same opportunities."¹ So Ward dismisses the problem in three sentences at the end of Chapter I, and prevailing opinion is equally ready to consider the question closed. Now that they have proved their ability to pass the same examinations as men, the women have broken through the prejudice and tradition which excluded them from higher education in the past, and it is possible for them to receive exactly the same education as the other sex. The general conclusion is that, by this achievement, society has benefited and women have won equality.

Our present purpose is to challenge those two assumptions.

Unquestionably society has gained a great deal from the work of a number of intelligent women whose talents would have remained unused if university education had not been opened to them. There have been successful women politicians and administrators in both local and national government—a woman has been a member of the Cabinet; another has chaired a Parliamentary committee. Women have gained distinction in every branch of the literary world, in science, in medicine, in law, and they have made valuable contributions in all these studies. Their work in the teaching profession alone is enough to demonstrate the benefits which have accrued to society by the liberation of the feminine intellect.

But let us look at the other side of the picture. Has there ever been a time when family life was so chaotic as the present? The falling birth-rate, the crowded divorce courts, the increase in juvenile delinquency, the broken homes, all are symptoms of a disease which,

¹ Herbert Ward: *The Educational System of England and Wales*, p. 22.

by attacking the family, is gnawing at the foundations of society. Even more serious than the declining birth-rate is the failure of the family to provide the environment in which spiritual life may be renewed and nourished. The disease clearly has many causes, but it may well be due in part to the great lack of truly educated women; for is it not true that most women do not receive higher education, and that the few who go to the universities generally lose something of their femininity in the process? It is not only the caricatured type, "the academic woman," nor just "the school ma'am" who are affected in this way. These are extreme cases. Usually the change is more subtle and shows itself rather in an attitude of mind towards life in the University Woman which is more masculine than feminine, and which is the result of her having been educated in an institution designed for men, based on masculine values, and directed towards producing the complete man. It has long been recognized that woman's education must have a mixed aim because her future is uncertain; preparation for marriage and running a home (which is the vocation of 80-90 per cent of women) must be supplemented by some training which will enable a girl to earn her living before she marries, or in case she remains a spinster. But in the modern University the first aim has been completely eclipsed, and what was originally the secondary aim is now supreme. In most cases a girl goes to a university to train for a career and she goes out into society intent on being a successful doctor, barrister, teacher, writer, or civil servant. Her career is the important thing in her life, no longer a stop-gap until marriage. She may deliberately turn away from marriage as an impediment to her "real" work. Alternatively she may marry and either continue her professional work or at any rate turn her attention to interests outside the "narrow sphere" of the home, leaving the drudgery of the care of home and children (if any) to others; for she is an "emancipated woman" and has "her own life to lead."¹ If ever a misconceived notion caused a civilization to crumble it is this falsification of the function of woman in society.

Perhaps this picture is too pessimistic. Certainly there are exceptions to this rule, but, nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the losses suffered by society as a result of the masculine education given to women may well outweigh the gains; and, moreover, that the women themselves, in achieving identity, have failed to win true equality, with men. "The line of common studies is adapted for man's work and programme of life," writes Janet Erskine Stuart, one of the few modern writers who have brought out this weakness, "it has a marked unfitness, in its adaptation for women, to the real end

¹ Compare Florence Nightingale: *Cassandra*. (Printed in Ray Strachey's *The Cause*, p. 414 n.): "At almost every period of social life, we find, as it were, two under currents running different ways. There is the noble woman who dreams the following out her useful vocation; but there is also the selfish dreamer . . . who is ever talking about 'making a life for herself' heedless that she is spoiling another life, undertaken, perhaps, at her own bidding."

of higher studies, or university education, which is the perfecting of the individual mind, according to its kind, in surroundings favourable to its complete development”¹

The key to the fallacy underlying the present system is to be seen in the circumstances in which university education for women grew up. The literature of the Feminist Movement shows clearly that the reformers took their stand, not on the need to educate women to play their proper part in social life, but on a defence of the natural right of women to be admitted to higher learning and their capacity to benefit by a university education. For it was just this right and capacity that the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries denied. Women were considered “inferior to men mentally, physically and morally. Education therefore would be wasted on them, responsibility would overwhelm them, and work would make them ill.”² The education which the better class girls received, either in boarding schools, or from their “ignorant mothers” or from English or French governesses, “generally the worst that can be gotten for the money,”³ was designed merely to accomplish them and so make them attractive to the desires of men. Mary Wollstonecraft was particularly vehement and outspoken in her attack on this so-called education “aiming to accomplish them without cultivating their understandings. They are taken out of their sphere of duties and made ridiculous and useless when their short-lived bloom of beauty is over.”⁴ The intelligent woman was deprived of any opportunity of developing her natural powers; she was condemned to a life of interminable triviality. “A vast empty space yawns before her,” wrote Fénelon, “unlikely ever to be filled except by inanities. The girl, in desperation, either abandons herself to idleness or hungers after diversions with insatiable eagerness.”⁵

For the young lady of a respectable family, home life had been emptied of any useful work. An excerpt from Florence Nightingale’s diary in 1846 confirms the picture painted by Jane Austen and the Brontës of the type of occupation considered suitable: “What in the world have I done this last fortnight? I have read ‘The Daughter at Home’ to father and two chapters of ‘Mackintosh,’ a volume of ‘Sybil’ to Mama. Learnt seven tunes by heart, written various letters. Ridden with Papa. Paid eight visits. Done company. And that is all.”⁶

Marriage was the only avenue of escape, and then the girl became the property of her husband with no real standing on her own account, with no legal rights to property or guardianship.

¹ Janet Erskine Stuart: *The Education of Catholic Girls*, p. 221.

² Mrs. Ray Strachey: *The Cause*, p. 16.

³ Jonathan Swift: *Select Works*. 1825. Vol. XI, p. 64.

⁴ Mary Wollstonecraft: *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1792.

⁵ *Traité de l’Éducation des Filles*, 1687. Translated by Dr. George Hicks (1704), p. 12

⁶ Quoted by Mrs. Strachey, *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

According to Rousseau she was even beautiful or wise only in so far as men thought her so.¹

The women who did manage to gain access to learning were in danger of being labelled "ridiculous monsters"² and considered social freaks. They took refuge, therefore, behind masculine pseudonyms or preserved strict anonymity—"My darling, my beloved Obscurity which I court and dote on above all Earthly blessings"³: so Mary Astell described the shield which protected her from the vulgar witticism which her Age showered upon women virtuosi.

This, then, was the situation against which the Feminists rebelled. Mary Wollstonecraft, one of the earliest theorists, whose impassioned "Vindication of the Rights of Women" (1792) is most typical of the spirit of the Movement, was stung into action by the writings of Rousseau, which proclaimed the freedom of man and yet could only see woman as the feeble tool of man's appetites. The eighteenth century had had a false conception of the function of women in society; Mary Wollstonecraft therefore attacked the very idea that their place in society was determined by particular functions. The eighteenth century had abused the sacred unity of man and wife; she therefore proclaimed the independence of the wife and set her free from any duty of consideration or affection towards her husband if it stood in the way of her own development: "If all the faculties of a woman's mind are to be cultivated only as they respect her dependence on man, if, when a husband be obtained, she have arrived at her goal, and meanly proud rests satisfied at such a paltry crown, let her grovel contentedly, scarcely raised by her employment above the animal kingdom; but if, struggling for the prize of her high calling, she look beyond the present scene, let her cultivate her understanding without stopping to consider what character her husband may have whom she is destined to marry. Let her only determine, without being too anxious about present happiness, to acquire the qualities that ennoble a rational being, and a rough, inelegant husband may shock her taste without destroying her peace of mind. She will not model her soul to suit the frailties of her companion, but to bear with them; his character may be a trial but not an impediment to virtue."⁴ Feminine selfishness was Mary Wollstonecraft's reply to the masculine selfishness of the eighteenth century, and although most of the Feminist writers were less blunt in the expression of their thoughts, the same theme runs through them all: that women are not "limited" by any particular "function" in society, but are equal in capacity to men and must assert their independence by the free use of their reason.

Even Frederick Denison Maurice, who used the term "Female

¹ *Émile, ou de l'éducation*, par J. J. Rousseau, 1794. Tome V, p. 25.

² Dorothy Gardiner: *English Girlhood at School*, 1929, p. 380.

³ *Letters concerning the Love of God, between the Author of the Proposal to the Ladies and Mr. John Norris*, 1695. Preface, p. 3.

⁴ Mary Wollstonecraft: *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

Education"¹ in describing the aims of Queen's College for Women, was very far from evolving a system of complete university training for women. He was not concerned with the requirements of women as members of society, but with producing teachers. The curriculum was limited by two considerations: the students' needs as teachers and the capacity of their intellects as women.

It was only natural, therefore, that as women began to show their abilities in ever-widening fields it should become less and less easy to find any justification for giving them a different education from men. When, in 1890, Philippa Fawcett of Girton was placed "above the senior wrangler" in the Mathematics Tripos, and Miss Alford, also of Girton, was bracketed with the senior Classic in the same year,² any logical reason for barring these subjects to women or for not recognising them as full members of the University was broken down. This argument was capitalized by Emily Davies, who used the examination successes of her pupils to extort concessions from the University authorities. She would not allow the Girton students to avail themselves of the alternative Previous Examination for women which omitted Classics.³ She opposed, tooth and nail, any suggestions for a women's University,⁴ for she was determined to prove that her students were capable of following successfully a course of study originally designed for men, and she did so, for the only proof required was their ability to pass men's examinations.

If it is true that, as Aristotle said, a thing is perfect in so far as it attains to its purpose, then an education which does not consider the purpose of women must be far from perfect. And we have shown that the people whose ideas lie behind the present system were concerned not with purpose but with ability, not with the good of society but with the selfish interests of individuals, not with duties but with rights.

The literature of the Feminist Movement would give the impression that women had always been considered inferior to men, whereas a wider view shows that this was a post-Reformation development. In the Middle Ages the Christian religion raised women from the degradation they had suffered under paganism to a personal equality with men, based on the fact that both sexes had immortal souls to save, both had the same temptations to fight, and both received the Grace of God through the same sacraments. Early instruction in the Faith and the obligations of a Christian was therefore usually co-educational, either in the home or in the parish schools.⁵ But just as Christianity declared that for the right ordering of the family the

¹ F. D. Maurice: *Inaugural Lecture at Queen's College*, March 29th, 1848, p. 9.

² R. Strachey: *Op cit.*, p. 260.

³ Barbara Stephen: *Emily Davies and Girton College*, p. 326.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 330 and 333.

⁵ See Adamson: *Education in the Middle Ages* (in Crump and Jacob: *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, p. 262): The Decretals of Pope Gregory IX "regularised these parish, canonical or priests' schools, whose chief purpose was to give religious instruction to boys and girls of the parish" (Adamson's italics).

wife must be subject, though not inferior, to her husband¹—in the same way as the Christian citizen was subject, but not personally inferior, to bishop and prince by reason of the authority they held from God for the good of Church and State—so it was implicitly recognized that the woman's function in the community was different from the man's, though not less important. Hence vocational education in the Middle Ages was different for the two sexes, and "schooling" for girls was practically non-existent. Though she might be apprenticed to a trade or craft like her brother, and would certainly learn to help her father in the workshop or on the farm, the Medieval girl, for the most part, received her education in the home where, whatever her social class, she would have to learn the complex business of running a Medieval household. "It beseemeth their wives to be of wise and great governance," wrote Christine de Pisan²; for the lady must be skilled in the niceties of tenure and feudal law; she must know about the management of an estate and be able to superintend the bailiff in her husband's absence; she must understand the duties of a housewife and she must be able to plan her expenditure wisely.³ The wife of the middle class merchant was very often well acquainted with her husband's business, and in many cases, like that of Margery Russell of Coventry,⁴ able to carry on the work after his death. The wife of the peasant or craftsman, too, had to be prepared to take the place of her husband. Whatever his status the woman must know how to manage the industries of the home, the butter and cheese-making, the ale-brewing, the baking, spinning and weaving. She must make purchases at the Fair, she must be able to look after her family in sickness and in health, and she must educate her children to be virtuous and wise.⁵

For those to whom a higher vocation than marriage was given, there was the opportunity—though it seems to have been limited to the upper classes—to enter a nunnery and devote themselves to the religious life, and although learning never occupied in the nunneries the important place it held in the monastic houses, in Saxon times at all events, there is evidence that some of these women achieved a high standard of scholarship. There was the Abbess Hilda of Whitby and Hartlepool, who corresponded with Bede and played the part of patroness to Caedmon,⁶ and the saintly Lioba of Wimborne, who "was so bent on reading that she never laid aside her books except to pray or to strengthen her slight frame with food and sleep. From

¹ Compare a modern statement of this view by Pope Pius XI in the Encyclical, *Casti Connubii*, December, 1930 (C.T.S. Translation): "This subjection does not deny or take away the liberty which fully belongs to the woman. . . but it forbids that exaggerated liberty which cares not for the good of the family."

² *Leivre de Trois Vertus*. c. 1406. Quoted in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, p. 418.

³ Eileen Power: *The Position of Women in the Middle Ages* (in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*), p. 418.

⁴ We have evidence of her having obtained Letters of Marque against some merchants of Santander and seized two of their ships.

⁵ Eileen Power, *Op. cit.*, pp. 420-1.

⁶ Gardiner: *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

childhood upwards she had studied grammar and the other liberal arts. . . . She zealously read the books of the Old and New Testaments . . . the writings of the holy Fathers, the canonical decrees and the laws of the Church."¹

By the later years of the Middle Ages, however, Eileen Power tells us, there was "little trace of anything approaching scholarship in the nunneries."² The decline seems to have been due to the general slackening in manners and morals, and to the fact that learning had migrated from the monastic houses to the universities, rather than to any feeling that women were incapable of higher learning or that study was, in principle, an unsuitable occupation for nuns. The significance of the nunneries is that they show that the Middle Ages catered for the minority of women who did not marry, giving them the opportunity to organize themselves in communities, managing their own estates and engaging in scholastic and administrative activities which a later age would have considered beyond the capacity of women.

But the nunneries and the nunnery schools were for the few. The sphere of activity of the average woman was the home and, as we have seen, it was a very wide sphere. In her own realm she reigned supreme, honoured and respected by the men folk, who saw in her the image of the Mother of God.

At this point it is useful to glance back at the three periods we have mentioned and see what conclusions are to be drawn from them. The Middle Ages, we have seen, recognized the equality of the sexes by different types of education adapted to the distinct and complementary functions of each sex. Although few women aspired to high learning, they were not considered incapable of scholarship and, as Eileen Power sums up, "the Medieval woman played an active and dignified part in the society of her age."³ In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries women were considered inferior to men in every respect, and for the majority of them education consisted in a superficial training for a narrow home life from which all useful work had been removed. In the modern age women are freely admitted to the realms of higher learning and almost every occupation and profession is open to them; they are given the same education as men, and in our submission they are being moulded to a masculine pattern. Does it follow, then, that this conclusion was inevitable? Is it true that there is a necessary conflict between higher learning and the career of a mother and housewife? Have we, in fact, to decide whether we want cultured women or good cooks?⁴

¹ Eileen Power: *Medieval English Nunneries*, p. 237.

² *Ibid.*, p. 260.

³ Eileen Power: *The Position of Women in the Middle Ages* (in *Legacy of the Middle Ages*), p. 433.

⁴ Compare the Rev. Sydney Smith: "Now there is a very general notion that the moment you put the education of women upon a better footing than it is at present, at that moment there will be an end of all domestic economy; and that if you once suffer women to eat of the tree of knowledge the rest of the family will soon be reduced to the same aerial and unsatisfactory diet." (*Essay on Female Education*. Works, 1845. Vol. I, p. 376).

The problem is not a modern one, for it came into great prominence at the time of the Renaissance and forced the thinkers of the period to examine the position of women with regard to the new learning and to solve the apparent dilemma. For the first time the question of women's education became a subject of keen interest for scholars. In England the example of two scholarly queens, Catherine of Aragon and Elizabeth, set the fashion for learning in high places and stimulated men like Mulcaster, Ascham and Becon to work out practical schemes for women's education.¹ More important from our point of view, however, were the theorists, especially Vives, Erasmus and More who, by reconciling scholarship with the vocation of the housewife, showed the importance of female instruction to the life of the community.

Their guiding principle was still, as in the Middle Ages, the needs of society and the woman's particular task. Erasmus maintains that all knowledge leads to wisdom, and that a woman requires wisdom in bringing up a family. In his colloquy, "Abbatis et Eruditiae," Magdalia defends her right to study the classics on this principle: "Is it not a woman's business to mind the affairs of her family and to instruct her children?" she demands, "And do you think so weighty an office can be executed without wisdom?"² Vives will have women study because it will make them virtuous, for, he says: "I, by experience have seen and known . . . that all lewd and evil women are unlearned and that they which be learned are most desirous of honesty, nor can I remember that ever I saw any woman of learning or of knowledge, dishonest."³

If Erasmus and Vives justified learning for women as conducive to virtue, it was More who really reconciled Humanism to the feminine task in the home. For according to More, whose ideal wife was to be "learned if possible, but at least capable of being made so,"⁴ the knowledge she is to acquire will not only show her in what virtue consists, but will also make her a more delightful companion to her husband, a wiser teacher for her children, and her accomplishments—her music, singing, and powers of conversation—can but enrich and enliven home life.⁵ And so More threw open the doors of scholarship to women. Greek and Latin literature, music, arithmetic, moral philosophy, astronomy, physic, rhetoric, logic, the world of nature, modern languages, domestic science, and handicrafts⁶—all came within the scope of the education he himself gave to his daughters. It is particularly significant that it took place within the home, and its

¹ Richard Mulcaster: *Educational Writings*. c. 1570; Roger Ascham: *Scholemaster*. 1568; Thomas Becon: *Catechism*. c. 1550.

² Desiderius Erasmus: *Colloquia*. Ed. 1662.

³ *The Duty of Husbands* (1529) Ch. III. (In Foster Watson's *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, p. 200).

⁴ Ballard: *Celebrated Ladies*, p. 39.

⁵ Gardiner: *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁶ Ballard: *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

purpose was the full development of the personality of the pupil within her natural sphere of home life. The aim was not to liberate the girl from the narrowness and drudgery of the household, but to broaden the home so that it might be enriched by the full flowering of the female personality.

To this the critic may well retort that, fine though the theory was, it did not work. The learned ladies of the sixteenth century were so few that the same handful of names are quoted by every writer on the period. Remarkable personalities these women certainly were, but More's system was too severe, his standard too high for the example he set to be copied on a large scale. The fashion for learning among noble ladies culminated in the scholarship of Queen Elizabeth. Its decline, almost without a break, down to the nineteenth century, was not due to any manifest fallacy in the ideas of the Humanists, but to a variety of causes which can only be touched on here.

It was mainly due to the lack of suitable teachers. There were few fathers of the calibre of More, and with the disappearance of the nunnery schools, had vanished also a certain number of potential teachers, women with leisure and suitable attainments. As a result, the governesses and the teachers for the new girls' boarding schools of the seventeenth century were either unattached women seeking a living, with no qualifications for teaching other than those demanded by the Church (that they be "sober and discreet"), or they were refugee foreigners who could teach little besides languages and "accomplishments"—dancing, drawing, music, embroidery, etc.¹

Mainly as a result of the type of teacher they were forced to use, the boarding schools evolved a superficial and frivolous curriculum which brought criticism from all sides. The Puritans especially opposed them on moral and biblical grounds, preferring for their daughters a home-training in domesticity, Bible-study and practical philanthropy, to produce the "godly housewife." They were against not only frivolity but also any secular learning for women.² There were others, however, such as Mary Astell, who criticized the education generally given to women for its lack of serious study. She proposed the establishment of a "Monastery or Religious Retirement" to train women teachers, a "Seminary to stock the kingdom with pious and prudent ladies . . . to expel that cloud of ignorance that custom has involved us in . . . and to furnish our minds with a stock of solid and useful knowledge, that the Souls of women may no longer be the only unadorn'd and neglected things."³

¹ Gardiner : *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

² See Richard Braithwaite : The Puritan Girl "desires not to have the esteeme of any Shee-clarke : shee had rather be approved for her living than learning . . . Some Bookes shee reads and those powerful to stirre up devotion and fervour to prayer. Herbals shee peruseth, which shee seconds with conference . . . Shee is no busie-body, nor was ever, unless it were about her family, needle or Sampler." *Times Treasury*. 1641, p. 398.

³ *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest*, in two parts, by a Lover of her Sex. 1697, pp. 42-52.

Her scheme met with severe opposition as savouring too much of a nunnery, but eleven years earlier a landmark had been reached in the training of women teachers with the establishment, by the Institute of Mary, of their convent at Micklegate Bar, York. The Society of Friends, too, had been making provision for a more serious education for the girls of their community, and by 1671 they had interests in two co-educational and two girls' boarding schools.¹

In 1673, Mrs. Makin set up her school for girls at Tottenham High Cross which, following the philosophy of Bacon and Comenius, taught not only accomplishments but also Latin, English, modern languages, music, natural sciences, cookery and domestic science, astronomy, geography, arithmetic and history, with experimental philosophy as an alternative to languages.² But Mrs. Makin's school was an exception, and by the end of the century the generally accepted education for girls was a training in accomplishments with a smattering of unconnected information on various topics; and the women themselves were persuaded that they were incapable of any higher learning. Moreover the Puritan influence, by contracting the sphere of the housewife's calling, had taken away its dignity, so that in every respect the women had fallen from the position of natural equality with men which they had held during the Medieval and Renaissance periods.

Can this brief enquiry into women's education in the past lead us to any constructive conclusions with regard to the present? We may surely assert this much: that where the Medievalists succeeded was in recognizing that women achieve equality with men by doing their own particular work, not by trying to make themselves identical with men, and to this the Renaissance thinkers added learning as one of the qualifications of the good mother and housewife. Running through all the history of women's education, moreover, has been the emphasis on moral training, character building, training in good manners and etiquette, on accomplishments, poise and attractiveness to the opposite sex. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we have seen that these things were abused and degraded; as a result, the reactionary movement of the nineteenth century discarded them altogether, affecting a separation between higher learning and the training of a mother and housewife.

The solution to the problem seems to be, therefore, that the Universities, which set out not only to give vocational training but also to produce what the older Universities call "the gentleman," should reconsider how they can best adapt this aim to their women undergraduates. The exact means by which this should be done must be determined by detailed planning which is beyond the scope of the present enquiry. But in principle, it is a change of emphasis that is needed rather than any drastic alteration in curriculum, though

¹ Samuel Tuke: *Education in the Society of Friends*. 1871. Part I, p. 10.

² From the Advertisement of Mrs. Makin's School, quoted in Gardiner: *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

subjects such as domestic science, child management and psychology, should become part of the training of every girl. (This would help to solve the difficulty which is merely evaded and aggravated by the provision of such temporary expedients as day nurseries.) But the understanding and sympathy of the student of literature, the experience and wisdom which come to the historian and philosopher, the keenness of intellect of the mathematician, the observation and accuracy of the scientist—these qualities must not be squandered in an effort to gain equality by mere competition with men. They must be planted deeply in the home, where they will bring forth rich fruit. The home of a truly educated woman should be a place where her husband may find spiritual refreshment in an atmosphere contrasting, in its tranquillity and beauty, with the masculine world of business outside, and where her children may grow up in the appreciation of goodness and truth. It is from within the home, and not from street corners or the Government Front Bench, that woman is destined to influence society and to rule the world.

It is time the Universities awoke to this problem and realized that their most valuable potential allies in the struggle to disseminate and preserve Western Culture are the women students in their care. Only when the Universities set out to produce "home-makers," in the most complete sense of the word, will society reap the full benefit of female learning and will women themselves enjoy a true equality with men.

PATRICIA M. MCCRUDDEN.

SHORT NOTICE

Two volumes from the Mercier Press, Cork, **The Mystical Body**, by Fr. Eugene Boylan, O.C.R., and **Most Worthy of All Praise**, by Fr. V. McCorry, S.J., will appeal to a large number of readers anxious to grasp more completely the great central truths of religion. Though Fr. McCorry modestly states that his aim is simply to help nuns in any Religious Congregation to a better understanding of the privileges and difficulties of their life. He has made a notable contribution to the literature—not always very convincing—of vocations. It is a book to be given to any aspirant to the religious life, however remote or slight the aspiration may yet be. Fr. Boylan's name to a spiritual book is in itself a passport to the excellence within, and this beautifully concise treatise on *The Mystical Body*, small in compass as it is, compares not at all unfavourably with his greater works. The printing and binding of these two volumes is remarkable at the cost, 5s. **Our Blessed Mother**, a series of conferences by the lately deceased Frs. E. Leen and J. Kearney, C.S.Sp., is a book which successfully attains a cherished aim. We are told that both these Fathers had always hoped and prayed for some author to write a treatise that would put our Blessed Lady's position in the Church worthily, clearly and definitively "If I could write a book on Our Blessed Lady, I should feel that my work as a spiritual writer would be complete," Dr. Leen once remarked. In these conferences we certainly have the germ of such a noble treatise. The publishers are Clonmore and Reynolds, Dublin, the price 10s. 6d.

APPROACH TO FATIMA

BY 'approach' I mean something spiritual or mental rather than physical, though I went to Fatima last July 13. At first, I felt no obligation to try to 'approach' the topic, but when I knew that I was to go to Portugal I knew too that I was sure to go to Fatima (in fact, half my time there I would be staying with a family deeply devoted to it), and that it would be my *duty* to approach as near as I could to the facts and their meaning, both for my own sake and for that of many who found that approach difficult, disconcerting, and who meant to question me about it. Since then I must first indicate some of my own difficulties, I begin by affirming not only my quite sincere certainty that Our Lady in various ways intervenes in human lives, but also that I have no doubt about her having thus intervened at Fatima. The Church has sanctioned the cult of Our Lady of Fatima : in a sense, that should be sufficient for us. But we cannot err if we approach any such subject with the utmost caution and desiring to preserve a perfect sincerity and integrity of soul.

My first difficulty was that all accessible accounts of the events were so unsatisfactory. Diffuse, or full of gaps : no orderly exposition of evidence : no complete 'dossier' of interrogations such as (since Fr. Cros) can be obtained about Lourdes : the same sentences spoken by the children or the Apparitions were differently given and suggested paraphrase rather than exact quotation ; and it was impossible to feel sure that certain statements were not due to suggestion or to the crystallization of memories. This is now, for practical purposes, set right. Fr. J. de Marchi, I.M.C., has produced a richly documented book : "Era uma Senhora mais brilhante que o sol" ; and, shorter, yet the only convincing book in English, "Our Lady of Fatima," by W. T. Walsh, Macmillan Co., 1947. I obtained, too, the notes taken down verbatim by an English lady from a Dominican Father who went with Fr. McGlynn, O.P., the sculptor (of whom below), to catechise Lucia, the only survivor of the three children concerned.¹ Also I have Fr. G. da Fonseca's book in Italian and Canon Barthas's much expanded French version of this.

Taking, however, the story as told, I felt that especially since

¹ I recall that the children were Lucia, youngest child of Antonio Abóbora, a small farmer, and of Maria Rosa who lived in the village Aljustrel in the parish of Fatima. She was born in 1907 and had made her First Communion when she was 6, largely owing to the intervention of Fr. Cruz, S.J., whose name is held in veneration throughout Portugal. She was therefore 10 at the time of the apparitions. The others were her cousins Francisco and Jacinta Marto, 9 and 7. In the photograph taken after the first apparition, May 13th, 1916, they are dressed in the very clumsy clothing of the peasantry : the girls wear heavy veils and the boy the regulation 'stocking-cap' and they all are rather scowling—probably because the poor children were worried and shy, being thus posed before a camera. Jacinta however, was not unknown to sulk

Lourdes a kind of formula for apparitions was taking shape : the first Fatima statues almost reproduced that of Our Lady of Lourdes : white dress ; bluish sash ; the mantle-veil ; hands lifted and joined and hanging rosary : then, there was the request that the children should return a certain number of times and that a chapel be built : the communication of 'secrets' (as already at La Salette) : the somewhat curious form under which the Lady names herself—"I am the Immaculate Conception" (theologians discuss this 'abstract'), and, "I am the Lady of the Rosary" (always 'the' : never 'Our'), even the star at the bottom of the white dress (which Lucia never could explain, though she insisted that 'it must be there') recalls to some degree the yellow roses on Our Lady's feet at Lourdes, never explained by Bernadette, and without any traditional artistic origin that I know of. I wasted not a little time trying to find out if Lucia had seen a statue of Our Lady of Lourdes. Mr. Walsh mentions no such statue among those in the parish church of Fatima though there was a red and blue one of Our Lady of the Rosary and though Maria Rosa, who could read, may have related the story of Lourdes to her children. But the description of the Lady, as finally given by Lucia, is so totally different from what one might have expected, and certainly from the earlier statues of Our Lady of Fatima, that we can disregard the hypothesis of pictorial suggestion.

Further, one feels a certain shrinking from prophecies of vast content, dependent on the fulfilment of no less vast conditions. "If my wishes are obeyed (many souls will be saved)." One is tempted to say : "Well, of course. If the world acts as Our Lady wishes it to, many will be saved. But it is hardly less obvious that the world, as a whole, will not so act." Remember that I am setting down my maybe unregenerate first-impressions : still, I trust it is not lack of faith or hope if one fails to expect the world to be converted very soon. And this world-conversion had to be *very* soon. "If people do not cease to offend God, a worse war will break out in the next pontificate." Again : "When you see a night illuminated by a mysterious light, know that it is the great sign given you by God that He is about to punish the world . . . by war, by famine . . . etc.)."¹ Finally, "to prevent this (second and worse) war, I ask for the consecration of Russia to my Immaculate Heart and Communion of Reparation on the First Saturday (of each month). If people attend to my request, Russia will be converted and there will be peace : if not, her errors will be spread through the world, causing wars and persecution of the

¹ On January 25th, 1938, between 21 and 23 o'clock the sky was flushed by a reddish glow which some took for an aurora borealis while others said it could not be one. Anyhow, the Press, next day, from Norway to Poland, London to Greece, was full of it. Had I seen such a glow, would I have thought it was a 'great sign'? No. But Lucia said that this was indeed what had been promised. More than once, too, a shower of 'snow-flakes or rose-petals' fell, vanishing before they touched the ground. On May 13th, 1924, the Portuguese vice-consul in the U.S.A. took a photo of this : but in the reproduction I can see only a diagonal pale smudge.

Church, the good will be martyred, the Holy Father will have to suffer much, various nations will be destroyed, but in the end my Immaculate Heart will triumph. The Holy Father will consecrate Russia to me and she shall be converted, and a certain period of peace will be granted to the world" (*algum tempo de paz*). The world was in fact consecrated to the Heart of Mary on Oct. 31, 1942, and Russia was alluded to but not named: but the second war had long been going on, and it is now known that Lucia considered that the ceremony was inadequate: she had meant the Pope together with all the bishops of the world to consecrate Russia as such to the Immaculate Heart of Mary on some one definite day; and, I understand, she was authorised to write to Rome expressing her regrets. It is also affirmed that she has prophesied a third war and the spread of Communism.

The series of apparitions did not start with those of Our Lady. First, the children twice saw what looked like a human form covered with a sheet, "without hands or face," advancing through the air, halting, and then withdrawing. There was a vague story about a headless man who haunted (?) the neighbourhood; but I can see no connection between this and the 'sheeted' form, nor can I make anything of the latter. But about a year before the 'great' apparitions, the children were playing after their lunch when they saw a dazzling light coming towards them which finally was seen to be a young man like brilliant snow and transparent like crystal. He said he was the Angel of Peace, made a triple prostration, taught them a prayer and vanished. Later, about mid-summer, he re-appeared, said he was the Angel of Portugal, and urged them to make sacrifices. He appeared towards autumn for the third time (Lucia did not know how to deal with dates—even months), holding a chalice into which blood dripped from a Host held in his other hand. These he left hanging in the air, repeated his prostrations, taught them another prayer of adoration and reparation, gave the Host to Lucia and made the two others drink from the Chalice. It is discussed whether, if the reality of this transaction be admitted, they thus made their First Communion. Though we usually think of St. Michael as militant, in the hymn for Lauds of Sept. 29 he is spoken of as 'Angel of Peace' because he battles victoriously against evil: in the Book of Daniel, angels are described as 'princes' of e.g. Persia or Greece. Psychologically, it is interesting that after the angelic apparitions the children were left "feeling exhausted, helpless, overpowered, and we remained lost to everything for hours. Our Lady always made us feel light and joyous." Asked if they transmitted the exact words spoken by the Apparitions, Lucia said: "The Angel's words had an intense and overpowering quality, a supernatural reality, that could not be forgotten. They seemed to engrave themselves exactly and indelibly on the memory. It was different with the words of Our Lady. I could not be sure that every word was exact. *It was rather the sense that came to me and I put what I*

understood into words. It is not easy to explain this." (Similarly Bernadette said she saw 'with her eyes' but heard 'here,' putting her hands to her heart.) This leads us to the great Apparitions, and I make use of the notes mentioned above. But still approaching those visions indirectly, I must say that what first struck me was the instant and radical change in the children, especially Francisco. Before the apparitions, they had promised their parents to say the rosary when they went to shepherd the flocks: but they 'got it over' quick by simply saying the two words 'Our Father' on the large beads, and the two words 'Hail Mary' on the smaller ones. After the visions, they constantly said the whole rosary as Our Lady asked. She asked too for penance: they daily gave away their lunch, to the sheep or to other children, and ate only herbs or leaves of shrubs. They made belts of prickly leaves, or rope, to be worn next the skin. They quickly gave up all amusements—so soon as June 13, rather than disobey Our Lady's summons they gave up the tremendous local feast of St. Anthony, leaving their parents utterly aghast. They were constantly thinking out 'sacrifices' and Francisco became obsessed with the thought of God and the desire to 'console' our Lord. The little boy, who had loved playing his flute, now sat for hours in the church, 'consoling Christ.' He preferred this even to praying for conversions. He would be found lying flat behind walls and it seemed impossible to rouse him from what I think undoubtedly was ecstasy. In 1918 he caught the prevalent influenza which turned into pneumonia. He had to ask Jacinta to help him to remember sins for his last confession. . . . He died after terrible sufferings, heroically endured, on April 4, 1919. Jacinta also fell ill and after even worse sufferings, always welcomed (even, added to, e.g. she would refrain from drinking however feverish) as a response to the appeal for sacrifice, died in hospital in Lisbon, Feb. 20, 1920. Anti-clericals crowned their long tale of insults and ridicule by saying that Catholics had murdered the two children, lest they should make awkward statements about the apparitions. . . . Lucia still lives, a lay-sister, Maria dos Dores, in a Dorothean convent.

As for the Apparition itself, Lucia insisted to the two priests I alluded to that it was in some sense wholly an affair of light. "She was altogether of light—*toda de luz*"—but a light having 'variations' or undulations. The cloak on the tunic was like one wave of light upon another: "We knew which was cloak, hand, which was face, which was tunic by these variations." The mantle, like the dress, was 'altogether of light' and fell straight, *liso*; there were no borders (let alone embroideries!), but the edges were a sort of concentrated light—she couldn't 'explain.' There was a 'cord' or 'ray' at the neck ending in a 'knot' which at first she had called gold because she had no other word; but she was so sure about it that she made the sculptor move it two millimetres higher on his model. The flesh did not give the impression of living flesh but the light had the quality of flesh. The

light was very intense but sweet—almost too intense to be looked at, but it didn't actually hurt. Our Lady did not smile but looked serious yet *agradavel e doce*; pleasant and sweet: there were no words to describe her beauty, nor her kindness. On the day of the solar phenomenon (below) *others* heard Lucia say: "Look at the sun," but she did not know she had said that, nor did she see it 'move': she was watching, first, St. Joseph and the Holy Child; then, Our Lady as Mater Dolorosa and as Our Lady of Mount Carmel; then, Our Lord alone—though she saw no more than His 'bust'. '*Changes of light*' made her think Our Lady was now Dolorosa, now 'of Carmel.' But "why of Carmel in particular?" "Because she had 'things' in her hand." In the first three apparitions, the hands were turned down to 'make the reflection of the sun *on us*': in the October apparition, the hands were turned so as to reflect the sun upon the people and it was then that the people, not Lucia, saw the solar phenomenon.¹

As for the solar phenomenon, I can but say that *something must have happened*, so utterly improbable are the details. You have photos of the enormous crowd—about 70,000—with umbrellas open against the rain; and then, of the same crowd, a moment afterwards, staring up at the sun; for the clouds parted and the sun shone out. Many—the editor of the paper *O Século*, who had just written sarcastically about Fatima: a university professor: many who even then would not commit themselves to a 'miraculous' occurrence—saw the sun as a pale disc visible as in an eclipse, but then revolving, 'dancing,' the people called it—then apparently approaching the earth very rapidly, red at the edges, throwing out coloured lights (not least, yellow, so that one spectator told his neighbour that they must have caught jaundice), generating a fiery heat, and repeating this performance certainly three times, during a space of about 10 minutes. The phenomenon was visible at a distance at least in certain cases, e.g. 11 and I think 30 kilometres off. Thus a school teacher and all the children hearing the shouting in the street, ran down and out, and saw the curious sight. Lucia says she was told by Our Lady that had the attack upon the children not occurred, the phenomenon would have been much more startling—the civil Administrator of Ourém had, I recall, kidnapped them during August. I have tried hard to think of some physical explanation of this event—some trick of refraction due to the sudden parting of the clouds and the sun still shining through moistened air. . . . But really that won't do: not *that* would reduce a throng of many thousands to panic and then to prayer. Next day, the

¹ I cannot visualise exactly the position of the hands, nor do I know accurately what moment in the apparitions Fr. McGlynn's statue represents. Lucia would not 'pass' the model he brought with him from America: with real humility he put it to one side. As for the conventional one in the Fatima hospital, she simply said: "Take it away!" His own is almost extreme in its austerity: no swirl of voluminous draperies and of course no decorations. Yet there seems to be a kind of 'crinkle' in the rigid folds—an attempt to symbolise the *tremulously* flowing light? As for St. Joseph, both he and the Holy Child were dressed in red: St. Joseph in red is at least unusual: in Portugal and Brazil the Holy Child is—always, I think—dressed in a smart little white satin frock.

papers were full of it. Let us suppose that God provides people with the sort of 'sign' that they appreciate.

As for the message given, it seems to have been always directed to the interior mind though accompanied by exterior phenomena. Our Lady's approach was heralded by 'flashes.' She stood over an *azinhiera*, a sort of holm-oak, her feet in a 'cloud' (other people saw lights, and a kind of smoke-cloud, and Lucia's father—and I think someone else—heard a voice like 'the buzzing of a fly in a bottle' . . . if that indeed is accurate, you cannot beat it for non-romanticism!) Her message always concerned the turning of sinful souls to God. The word usually rendered 'penance' emphatically meant this 'change of mind', which is indeed true to the Scriptures. In 1940 Lucia said that by 'penance' God meant the fulfilment of one's religious duties and those of one's state of life. Asked if previously her use of the words 'penance,' 'sacrifices,' had meant voluntary ones—'Our Lady did not explain.' Was the recital of the rosary to be private or familial? Neither did she define that. She said that for those who did not know how to pray, the rosary was a good way of drawing near to God. The vision of 'hell' which formed the first part of the triple 'secret' was over in a flash. It was Jacinta who brooded over it, perhaps too imaginatively, not having learnt about that dogma so far, any more than she knew what the Pope was. The heroism with which these two children, Francisco and Jacinta, endured their bodily suffering, may have been less than what they went through owing to snubs, browbeating, sneers, and above all their two days' confinement in the Administrator's house where the poor little creatures were threatened with death—they were to be fried in oil and as each was taken into another room, the others were told that the sentence had been executed. This caddish torturing of little children was what could be expected from anti-clericals of that hour.

I approach, therefore, this (or any other such) story remembering always a primary warning of all 'mystical' theologians, that one must scrupulously discriminate between a supernatural communication and what the human mind, after the experience is over but still under the shock of it, may make of it. And again, that if a communication be made direct to the 'innermost,' or to the 'summit,' of the soul, *that* is the substantial gift: to make it clear to itself, the soul will have to shape it into ideas, and ideas cannot but clothe themselves in imaginative forms, and these normally depend on what 'furniture' the mind already has within it. I do not know that Fatima has been studied from this point of view and I doubt whether even now all the material is available. That the distinction between the heavenly and the human contribution is legitimate, is made clear at least by Lucia's own statement that she gave, in her way, the sense of what Our Lady said to her in *her* way.

As for the general effect of these events upon Portugal, which is

said to have been incalculable, naturally I cannot speak. My own visit took place on a day of 'smaller' pilgrimage: about 20,000 people were said to be present. There is 'no beauty' about the place that one 'should desire it.' Cova da Iria is now an enormous saucer of little jagged stones across which pilgrims drag themselves on their knees to the chapel towards the left-centre—an absolutely plain little shed replacing the one that anti-clericals bombed. In the middle is a round building with several taps from which water, unexpectedly found there, may be drawn. It is surmounted by a slender column topped by a gilded statue of the Sacred Heart. To the left is a vast hospital, a very fine building, with a priests' retreat-house behind it: these are being reproduced to the right; other buildings are being put up. Facing you is the Basilica, inexplicably narrow (at Lourdes, the terrain practically dictated the narrowness of the upper church), with a very tall campanile, classical till near the very top when it blossoms into a discreet baroque. Vast ramps slope down into the hollow and up again to the terrace below the church. We arrived in the early evening, having driven all day: we watched the seemingly endless candle-lit procession after nightfall. About twelve, I think, we went to our little wooden room to lie down. The straw mattresses crackled if you moved . . . you could light no candle for fear of midges . . . about three, I said: "I am going to nocturnal adoration," since sleep was clearly out of the question. Under every little shrub in the huge hollow, groups were sleeping on those jagged stones, in the narthex of the basilica, on every bench. At about four-thirty I felt suffocated by the crowds, returned, and awaited dawn. My Mass was said towards seven. At about eleven-forty-five the Rosary was recited: Our Lady's statue was carried in long, long procession, hundreds of handkerchiefs waving where she passed. Up on the terrace, she stood discreetly to one side, having led souls to her Son, offered in front of the basilica in High Mass. All sang the plain chant Credo. Then the sick were blessed, the Cardinal Archbishop of Lourenço Marques having preached about Africa, India and St. John de Brito. After a belated luncheon, we returned, wilting, to Mont' Estoril beyond Lisbon.

The expedition, for me, had been undoubtedly an affair of penance and pure faith, and I preferred to have it so. That too was the spirit of those crowds. But I would like to finish with an incident that I found altogether delightful. Last December, the little statue of Our Lady was to go in procession from Cova da Iria to Lisbon, and after December 8, to cross the Tagus and return by another road. A superb motor-car with glass sides was fashioned for her. The country-folk would have none of that. Each village carried her forth, handed her on to the men of the next one where she spent the night in the parish church, and so forth. A lady bought six doves in the ordinary Lisbon market and sent them in a basket to a village, Bombarral, once

notoriously anti-clerical. One died en route : two, speckled doves, flew away ; three pure white ones remained. These, liberated, flew around and then settled on the pedestal of the statue : persons who had arranged flowers there tried to shoo them away : but no : they fluttered up, and returned. The tumultuous procession advanced, mile by mile, hour after hour : bombs exploded, rockets hissed and crackled, bells clashed, hymns detonated, rapturous crowds applauded. At first, onlookers thought the birds must be tied there : but no : at intervals they flew around the statue or quite high into the air, and imperturbably came back. A friend of mine was standing from 9 p.m. till after 1 a.m. by the cathedral. One dove flew up and perched upon one of the great grim towers : I do not know what became of it. The remaining two entered the cathedral and stayed there throughout the *festa*, still fluttering around on to cornices and even the patriarchal throne, but always returning to Our Lady's feet. On the 9th, I think, they crossed Tagus where besides bombs and rockets a thousand fishing-boats, motor-boats, steam-ships, caused their hooters to add to the sacred uproar. On the far side, they went certainly to two more villages, but after that, I had no more eye-witnesses to consult, nor photos such as had shown them *en route* for Lisbon performing their delighted antics, or nestling in their chosen home. I am convinced that you have here an instance of the affectionate humour of high heaven, so perfectly attuned to the childlike happy temper of the Portuguese.

C. C. MARTINDALE.

SHORT NOTICE

In **St. Augustine : Faith, Hope and Charity**. Tr. Louis A. Arand, S.S. (Pp. 165. The Newman Bookshop. Maryland. 1947), we have No. 3 of "Ancient Christian Writers." The Editors of this series of translations have chosen among the works of St. Augustine those which seem likely to appeal to the general public to-day : *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, *De Unitate* (forthcoming) and the *Enchiridion*, which is here given a sub-title "Faith, Hope and Charity." It is possible that *De Spiritu et Littera* might have been more helpful to the lay reader. *De Dono Perseverantiae* would certainly also be welcomed, but might perhaps have given rise to perplexities. The *Enchiridion* is well chosen as representative of the great Doctor's theological teaching, for it is in fact a conspectus of it. The translation is sound and idiomatic, but necessarily stiff and slow by comparison with the fluency of the original. The notes, linguistic and doctrinal, are very learned. In scale, they would be more appropriate to a scholar's edition of the text than to a popular translation. They abound in references to erudite monographs, and would be more valuable to those who might wish to write more of the same, than to the ordinary reader.

A QUAKER ARISTOCRAT AND PIUS VII

SOME years before the War Mgr. Ronald Knox wrote a delightfully sympathetic yet ironic account of the visit of an Anglican clergyman *ad limina*. My own reading among Quaker journals reminded me of others who went to Rome, not for the purpose of persuading the Pope to unite all separated Christians, which was the parson's hope, but to 'convert' him.

Owing to the great declension of the Society of Friends from what is known as evangelicalism—the Evangelicals or Gurneyite Friends having almost completely lost their nineteenth century dominance—the name and adventures of one of the greatest Quaker evangelists are now seldom heard of. And his remarkable visit to the Pope whom Napoleon imprisoned is probably less known to the modern Quaker than to Catholics. Yet certain effects of that visit are with us to-day.

Stephen Etienne de Grellet du Mabillier was born in 1773 in Limoges. He was of the lesser nobility; his father was not only a landed proprietor but the owner of a porcelain factory, and an iron master; and was at one time comptroller of the Mint and of the household of Louis XVI. The family were devout Catholics and two of Stephen's aunts were nuns, one in the convent of the Visitation at Limoges, the other in the stricter discipline of the Clarisses. As a boy he was very impressed by the ascetic life of the latter, by "the hard board which formed her couch and the rising in the night for prayer in the church."

Benjamin Seebohm, who put together and commented upon Grellet's diary, does not in every place appear an altogether trustworthy annotator; for, while he admits that Stephen was brought up as a Catholic, he asks us to believe that Grellet as a boy had scarcely "so much as heard whether there be a Holy Ghost."

He was sent to the Oratorian school at Lyons, which he declared was a well ordered institution, and he compares the Oratorians to the Jesuits, to the great disadvantage of the latter. Particularly does he single out their care over each scholar, the rule that forbade companies of less than four scholars to congregate, the well-furnished library, the silence and the excellence of instruction.

As we were educated by Roman Catholics we were required to confess once a month. I had chosen for my confessor one whom I thought a pious and conscientious man; and as I could not understand how a *man* could forgive my sins, I asked him what he could say to satisfy my mind on that point, for I considered that

God alone could forgive sins—a doctrine, however, which I had never *heard* of. He, seeing further than many other priests, told me that he considered himself invested with such authority, only so far as that, if I were sincere and truly penitent in the sight of God, he was the instrument through whom information was given me that my sins were forgiven. This rational answer gained him much of my confidence and respect. He bestowed a fatherly care over me.

From my earliest days there was that in me which would not allow me implicitly to believe the various doctrines I was taught, though I was told that they were mysteries which I was not to seek to see into, yet my reasoning faculties brought me to the root of the matter—from created objects to the Creator—from time to Eternity.

That early note of Grellet tells us much about his later attitude. One must acquit him of intellectual dishonesty, for his life was curiously simple and beautifully straight; but—as von Hügel found of the author of Fox's *Journal*—he put into his early years what was either not there or was not there in the way and degree Grellet thought. Just as George Fox believed that God had revealed a truth to him by some interior locution but which was in fact what he had read in Holy Scripture, so Grellet confidently tells us that he had discovered by himself what he had, he says, never been told, that God alone can forgive sin. His report, also, of his confessor's explanations is probably interpretative. It is difficult to resist the conviction that Grellet weaves into the memory of his Catholic days a number of afterthoughts of a theological character dear to the Evangelical, afterthoughts which he may have intended us to regard as such, as explanatory glosses upon his "unfoldings" and "openings." And we are not told what those priests whom he assailed for teaching superstition said in reply, except that they 'brought forth tradition as their authority . . . and that their traditions supersede the express testimonies of the Scriptures.'

Grellet describes one of the "religious openings" of his childhood as follows:

I thought I saw a large company of persons or rather purified spirits on one of those floating vessels they have at Lyons occupied by washerwomen. I wondered to see what beating and pounding there was upon it. I was told I could not enter God's kingdom until I underwent such an operation—that unless I was washed and made white I could have no part in the dear Son of God. . . I had never heard of such things before.

But certainly he had. That kind of vision depends upon some prior information.

One clue to Grellet's history lies in the Jansenism which flourished then and could be found among the Oratorians. His later charge against popery, that in allowing the efficacy of attrition it was gravely defective, and that contrition was indispensable, smacks of this Jansenistic upbringing, which was probably responsible for his complete

misunderstanding of sacramental grace. Unless he *felt* changed he was not. After confession and confirmation he found his heart not at all changed, that his sense of sin still remained, that his propensities to evil were on his confirmation day as strong as ever. And then follows a truth undeniable in its Catholic sense, "I learned that neither priests nor bishops could do the work for me." Failing to receive the sweet consolations of religious devotion, Grellet gradually drifted, until he began to seek pleasure in the world's delights. But he found no pleasure. He became a rationalist in the fashionable Voltairean manner.

Though the political sympathies of the Quakers have on the whole tended towards either a *bourgeois* Whiggism or a Benthamite radicalism, Grellet, like that other great Quaker, William Penn, found himself attached to the monarchist cause. When he was sixteen the family estates were confiscated, his parents were cast into prison (they narrowly escaped the guillotine), and the populace were provoked into rebellion. At the beginning of the Revolution he caught small-pox, during which illness he records that he spurned various Divine helps, and lapsed afterwards still further into deism. He and his brothers fled the country to take up arms against the Republic, and after many dangers arrived at Coblenz. Although he saw service in the King's Horse Guards, suffering considerable privation and hardships, although he threatened on one occasion to fire his pistols into a French mob, he never took life, a circumstance which afterwards impressed him as evidence of the divine assistance. But at that time he admitted that he had "no sense or remembrance that there was a God." He was eventually taken prisoner and while he was under threat of execution a strange commotion in the enemy camp gave him, and other captured emigrés, opportunity to escape to Amsterdam.

From there he travelled to Demerara where

There was no place of worship, no priest of any kind except one who had lived there many years, a dissolute drunken man. It was of the Lord's mercy that I and the whole land were not destroyed like Sodom and Gomorrah. At that time the prince of the power of the air had obtained such a victory over me that I had become one of the infatuated ones who call good evil . . . to so daring a pitch as to say "There is no God," . . . I had become a complete disciple of Voltaire.

From Demerara he sailed to New England. His conversion was near at hand. It was while living on Long Island that :

Through adorable mercy the visitation of the Lord was now extended to me by the immediate openings of the Divine Light on my soul. One evening as I was walking in the fields alone my mind being under no kind of religious Concern. . . I was suddenly arrested by what seemed to be an awful voice proclaiming the words "Eternity ! Eternity ! Eternity !" It reached my very soul—my whole man

shook—it brought me like Saul to the ground. . . I was made bitterly to cry out, "If there is no God doubtless there is a hell."

He now found among the works of William Penn lent to him by a Colonel's daughter, that Quaker classic, *No Cross, No Crown*. With the help of a dictionary he read it through, for the title had attracted him. At length he attended a Quaker meeting where, during the profound silence, "I found within me what I had so long and with so many tears sought for without me." Is this a completely fresh illumination? It may have been. But one may well wonder whether Grellet had not already—perhaps among the Oratorians—read that great sentence of St. Augustine: "I have laboured much seeking Thee out of myself, and Thou dwellest in me if only I desire Thee." This visitation did, however, open a new world to him. It began for him a lifetime of missionary activity of a kind which in some respects was greater than that even of John Wesley, whom Grellet somewhat resembles.

His mission was certainly greater in terms of geography. Grellet not only visited Quaker congregations in the United States, Ireland and the United Kingdom, but he travelled frequently to European countries, including France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Hungary, the Germanies, Scandinavia, Russia, Turkey and Finland, the Netherlands and Denmark. In all these lands he preached, and in all places he could record that God's blessing came among those to whom he spoke.

Like Las Casas, Grellet was horrified and soul-seared by the state of the slaves in America, and the cruelties perpetrated upon them. Henceforth the emancipation of slaves was, to use a Quaker pet word, his 'concern.' Of equal importance, and deriving from the same source, was his interest in prison reform. Both 'concerns' were intertwined in his mind as they were in other Quaker minds, for to them slavery was a kind of imprisonment. It is easy to see why Grellet should have laboured so long and so earnestly in these causes. His parents had been imprisoned, he himself had been a captive. Although a royalist emigré he had been roused by the idealism of the French rebels. His initiation into Voltairean rationalism led him to views of the rights of man which, in spite of his later controversy with Thomas Paine, he maintained.

In some of the Mediterranean lands he had visited prisons where men were confined for political offences, houses of correction where men and women suffered much, orphanages where the children were practically enslaved. In Italy, among the petty kingdoms and even in the Papal States, he witnessed these and other abuses, and decided that he must see the Pope so that an end might be put to them. He was fortunate in making a friend of Cardinal Consalvi, whom he described as the Pope's Prime Minister. The Pope, Pius VII, had lived an eventful life in eventful times. Raised to the Pontificate during the Revolutionary wars, he had crowned Napoleon in 1804 at

Paris, but was nevertheless five years later seized by him and imprisoned at Fountainebleau until, by the intervention of Protestant powers, he was released in 1814. He was nearly eighty years of age when Grellet, now forty six years old, saw him.

Grellet spent almost a fortnight in Rome before he succeeded in his object. But the diary reveals him to be in no haste. He rests in the confidence that God, his Master, has set him the task, and that in some way he will accomplish it. He went first to the Quirinal alone, knowing nobody, and ignorant of the procedure. He found a motley crowd of persons waiting with letters of introduction near the stairs that led to the papal apartments and joined it armed with letters from Sir Thomas Maitland, Governor of the Ionian Isles, and the Chevalier de Medici, the Prime Minister of Naples. His first scruple was whether he should take his hat off—Quakers having an ancient testimony against hat worship, and the crowd standing uncovered. Thus hatted he presented a clear picture of a Quaker, and one is not surprised that before he handed in his papers he was addressed by name.

From the Cardinal's office he went to various places usually closed to visitors. The Governor gave him many facilities, and he was often asked questions about Quakerism so that it is not surprising to read the accounts of his addresses to priests and dignitaries upon Quaker principles and "what constitutes true Christianity." He visited the Officer of the Inquisition and after some difficulty its Secretariat, the more secret part, and came to the conclusion that whatever it had been, it was now well reformed. He made careful notes of all he saw in various institutions, and when again he visited Cardinal Consalvi, it was to learn that his notes and suggestions had been perused by the Pope, copied, and sent to the managements of the places Grellet had inspected.

It was evening, the ninth of twelfth month (Quaker style for December) when he was admitted to the Pope's presence. As he went through many sumptuous apartments he seems to have resigned himself to seeing the Pope in an apartment even more sumptuous still. A discreet person whipped off his hat as he entered the Pope's room, which disappointed his expectations :

The Pope is an old man ; very thin, of a mild, serious countenance. The whole of his apartment is very plain. He was sitting before a table ; his dress was a long robe of fine white worsted and a small cap of the same. . . He rose from his seat when I came in, but as he is but feeble, he soon sat down again. He had read my reports to the Cardinal respecting many of the visits I had made ; he entered feelingly on some of these subjects and intends to see that the treatment of prisoners and of the poor boys in the house of conviction and various other subjects I have mentioned should be attended to, so that Christian tenderness and care be exercised : means, as he said, more likely to promote reform among them than harsh treatment.

He reprobates the conduct of their missionaries in Greece and the burning of the Holy Scriptures by the priests and bishops in several places ; he acknowledges, like Consalvi, that it militates much against the promotion of pure Christianity, and is more likely further to darken the minds of the mass of the people than to enlighten them. On the subject of the Inquisition, he was pleased I had seen for myself what great changes had been brought about in Rome in this respect ; that it was a long time before he could have it effected ; that he has made many efforts to have similar alterations introduced into Spain and Portugal ; had succeeded in part to have the Inquisition conducted in those nations with less rigour, but was far from having yet obtained his wishes. " Men " he said, " think that a Pope has plenitude of power in his hands, but they are much mistaken ; my hands are tied in many things." . . He assented to the sentiment that God alone has a right to control the conscience of men and that the weapons of a Christian should not be carnal but spiritual. . . As I was speaking on these and other subjects connected therewith the Pope said several times, on looking at the priest present, " These things are true " ; and the priest's answer was, " They are so."

Finally as I felt the love of Christ flowing in my heart towards him, I finally addressed him. I alluded to the various sufferings he underwent at the hand of Napoleon ; the deliverance granted him from the Lord ; and queried whether his days were not lengthened out to enable him to glorify God and exalt the name of the Lord our Redeemer, Jesus Christ as the only Head of the Church, the only Saviour to whom alone every knee is to bow and every tongue is to confess ; that such a confession from him in his old age would do more towards the advancement of Christ's kingdom and the promotion of his glory than the authority of all the Popes his predecessors was ever able to do ; moreover that thereby his sun now setting would go down with brightness and his portion in eternity would be with the sanctified ones in the joys of his salvation. The Pope, while I thus addressed him, kept his head inclined and appeared tender ; then rising from his seat in a kind and respectful manner he expressed a desire that " the Lord would bless and protect me wherever I go " ; on which I left him.

On returning to the outer apartment my hat was given me and excuses made for having taken it away, they stating that as this was done when Friends appeared before the King of England they thought they could not do otherwise on that occasion. They also said : " The Pope must have been pleased with your visit for we have never known him give one half so much time to anybody in a private audience nor conversing with them as he has done to-day with you." My soul magnifies the Lord. The work is His and the glory also ! May He bless the work of His own hands.

Grellet then took leave of the priest who was with the Pope, and who had little to do there but listen. Then he met Consalvi, who renewed his desire to serve him, and " in Christian love we took a solemn farewell of one another."

Grellet showed discretion in not tarrying in the City any longer than was necessary, for a faction had arisen in opposition to the liberalising

spirit of Consalvi and his work might have been completely frustrated. As it was his purity of purpose and disinterested devotion to apprehended duty seems to have made a permanent impression : twenty years afterwards Capacini, the Papal Nuncio to Portugal, asked G. W. Alexander, a Quaker travelling to Lisbon, to convey to Grellet his affectionate remembrance and esteem.

There were others whom Grellet's efforts for reforms attracted. The zeal with which he prosecuted his enquiries communicated itself to a William Savery who travelled much with Grellet. And Savery communicated it to young Elizabeth Gurney who was then in love with him, before she married a Mr. Fry. Thus Grellet's audience with the Pope has certain links with the reform of our English prisons.

It is not my purpose to discuss Grellet's religious position, to ask, for instance, whether he were a formal or material heretic, though my guess is that in spite of his falling away from his early Catholic upbringing, his heresy was not a sin against the light. How much Jansenism he unconsciously imbibed I do not know. Jansenism was a long time being found out ; and even when it was, it survived in corners. On the other hand we see in Grellet an ex-rationalist who came not merely to believe in God but in salvation through the Cross and the Resurrection of God's Son. This truth, though insufficiently apprehended by Grellet, he preached whenever he could—to Mohametans, to Karaite Jews in the Crimea, to Socinians, and even to the Pope ! His devotion to the Precious Blood gleams through the pages of his diary, and on his death-bed he seems to have had a Catholic understanding of much he had misunderstood.

He died after an illness of great pain, but he believed that God must care for him because God cared for the sparrows. All he would say when asked how he felt was, " My Master is very good to me," or " Do not be discouraged, it is only the flesh." Frequently he prayed : " Not my will but Thine be done." Such a man may well have been the recipient of uncovenanted graces.

H. W. J. EDWARDS.

EDITORIAL NOTE

All contributions submitted to the Editor must be typed and be accompanied by a sufficiently large stamped addressed envelope—stamps (or Post Office coupons from abroad) alone will not suffice. Articles so submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be the fruit of expert knowledge or original research. They should not ordinarily exceed 4,000 words, and must be intended for exclusive publication in " The Month," if accepted.

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THE BLACK DEATH¹

DISEASE is for most of us primarily a personal affair, or at most limited to our immediate circle—something that however unpleasant or however lethal has few effects upon society at large. Historical writers sometimes play that rather abortive game of "If": if Henry VIII had not acquired a venereal disease, or Edward VI not inherited it; if Prince Henry, the son of James I, had lived, and he and not Charles I had succeeded to the throne. There are many such 'ifs,' and a very big one could be asked about the Black Death. For this disease was no mere personal affair, it was a National, a European, almost a world-wide calamity. Figures of the mortality may vary, but the consequences make it impossible to dispute its wholesale devastation.

It is, I think, now generally accepted that the Black Death was a pandemic of Plague in one of its periodic visitations that still occur—fortunately in very small numbers—till as recently as 1911, in Suffolk. The Black Death was probably the worst of its kind since the days of Justinian in the sixth century. Gibbon thus describes its effects: "It was not till the end of a calamitous period of 52 years that mankind recovered health, or the air resumed its pure and salubrious quality. The triple scourge of war, pestilence and famine afflicted the subjects of Justinian, and his reign is disgraced by a visible decrease of the human species, which has never been repaired, in some of the fairest countries of the globe." There seems to have been a severe epidemic in Anglo-Saxon times which turned this country back to barbarism and left the towns deserted and in ruins. St. Bede describes how, when he was a boy, his monastery was so depopulated that he had to assist the Abbot with antiphons and responses.

The Black Death of the fourteenth century appears to have been first heard of in China, in 1333, following a succession of earthquakes, famines, locusts, and floods. It travelled by trade routes across Asia to the Caspian and Black Seas, to Egypt, Cyprus, and by way of Italy to this country, which it reached in August, 1348. Everywhere there is the same story of relentless, inevitable advance, and of slaughter. I give the figures for what they are worth. In China 13 million are estimated to have died; in Cairo 10,000 daily; Aleppo, 500 a day; Gaza, 22,000 in six weeks; whilst in Cyprus almost the whole community is said to have perished. When we come to Europe it is the same story. Florence, 60,000; Venice, 100,000; Avignon, 60,000; Paris, 50,000, at the rate of 500 a day in the Hotel de Dieu; London, 100,000; Norwich, 57,000; Bodmin, 1,500 in a few months. In Bristol, according to Knighton, "almost the whole strength of the

¹ The substance of a paper read to the Acton Society, University of Bristol.

town died, struck as it were by sudden death ; for there were few who kept their beds more than three days, or two days or half a day . . .”

It was this swift, widespread fatality which made the epidemic so terrible. In most places it was over in six months, in England it lasted a year. Soon the living were unable to keep pace with the dead, and one reads of the extraordinary measures taken for disposal of the dead : the great pits, and the consecration of the Rhone as a burial place by Pope Clement VI.

The immediate social and economic results are better known : the scarcity of labour, the rise in prices, the Statute of Labourers and the Labourers' Revolt ; but it will be of interest to look at the immediate medical and psychological results. And before we do this it may be useful to give the present position of medical knowledge about the Plague. By plague we mean infection by a germ we call *B. Pestis*, a germ that unfortunately for us affects both man and animals. In man, at any rate, it produces a disease which may take a variety of forms, according to the organs chiefly infected. We recognize a general septicaemic disease, and also pneumonic, intestinal, meningeal, skin, and bubonic forms. In very virulent forms there may be haemorrhage into the skin causing a purplish discoloration. It is this that gave its name to the Black Death. *B. Pestis* may be complicated, I presume, by other organisms such as the haemolytic streptococcus which complicated the Influenza epidemic of 1918. There is also an abortive form of plague in which the patient has only a mild illness.

Now plague in man is always preceded by plague in rats ; and it may be that the stench which is so frequently described as occurring at the time, and is often the attributed cause of the disease, may be due to decomposing rat. Plague is not transmitted directly from rat to man but indirectly, by means of the rat flea. The responsible rat is the black rat (*Ratus ratus*), a rat that is a climber rather than a burrower, and hence an inhabitant of ships. The familiar brown rat, *Ratus norvegicus*, is a burrower and though described as not so elegant as *Ratus ratus*, is at least not the host of the flea that carries *B. Pestis*. It has been objected that there is a proper limitation of interests in the flea world : that our own flea, *Pulex irritans*, will not bite a rat, nor conversely will the rat flea bite a man. Whether this is a matter of taste, or of snobbery among fleas, I cannot tell ; but the argument has been countered by pointing out that hunger will drive a flea, as a man, to extreme courses which might be distasteful in the ordinary course of events. So a rat's flea, whose rat host has died, will, in dire straits, condescend to bite a human being.

Fleas are blood suckers, and sucking infected blood from a diseased rat take bacilli into the stomach, where they multiply. It is calculated that as many as 5,000 *B. Pestis* are contained in the stomach of a flea. Whether this impresses on one most the minuteness or the fertility of

the bacilli, or the voracity of the flea, it is in the flea's stomach that the trouble begins. For there comes a time when the flea has had, so to speak, one over the five thousand, and when he bites he can't suck any more blood but, I regret to say, regurgitates the contents of his stomach into the wound he has made. Thus a flea leaving a dead rat and reluctantly biting a human infects the human.

But the spread of contagion in the Black Death was so swift, and the mortality so high, that we must, I think, consider an alternative method of transmission. It is probable that the pneumonic form prevailed. Contemporary descriptions of the disease suggest this and the very rapid termination rather confirms it. In this form infection could be conveyed directly from human to human by droplets of sputum, and this was probably an additional means of dissemination.

The medical profession was quite incapable of dealing with the Black Death. The theories prevalent about its cause were not likely to lead the physicians into the paths of hygienic righteousness. The visitation was regarded as the deserved vengeance of God on a wicked people—a theory that appealed particularly to the Scots whilst they remained uncontaminated. They assembled an army in the forest of Selkirk and swearing “by the foul death of England” prepared to attack, but were then themselves smitten by the plague. Pollution of the air, natural disturbances and other phenomena were given as the immediate causes of the plague, but the Faculty of Medicine, seeking for a “*causa causans*,” attributed it to the conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars.

The working medical knowledge of the day can be gathered from the “*Breviarium Bartholomei*,” written by John Mirfield before 1387. It is not certain whether Mirfield was a priest but he was certainly a physician attached to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He probably had survived the plague or, at any rate, he must have talked with people who had. In one chapter of this work he writes on the associated infection of animals and man, and the fact that sometimes only the animals are attacked. Plague, he says, is associated with rotten and sterile seasons, when crops are blighted and air and water corrupted, and he holds that therein men's bodies are infected. General disturbances of nature and irregular seasons are given as premonitory signs of the plague. He describes the symptoms of the disease and says that the outlook is bad. He suggests as preventive measures various aromatic substances used to overcome smells. (Probably some of these are mildly antiseptic.) He favours purging and bleeding, and recommends a sour rather than a sweet diet. Syrup of vinegar in the morning, and at noon syrup of violets in cold water are suggested. On the whole, however, Mirfield is quite honest and thinks nothing is of any use in treating the Plague.

Brother John Helme, of St. Bartholomew's, writes rather more

explicitly. He recommends a mixture of aloes and myrrh as a prophylactic to be taken out of warm wine. Another of his prescriptions is a mixture of equal parts of water distilled from diptamus, pimpernel, tormentil and scabious. Of this he says "*Est enim optima et nobilissima medicina.*" Hali Abbas suggests three or four grains of camphor a day, which sounds as if it might possibly be useful.

But there was, in fact, no method known of prevention or treatment for the disease, and even had there been the terror which seized the population would have multiplied the infection. Panic prevailed; afflicted persons were deserted, even children were abandoned by their parents, and the wretched patient was left to meet a rapid death, lonely and forsaken. The panic not only produced a state of anarchy in the country, but it spread the disease everywhere. Not only dread of the plague, but panic fear of God's vengeance, seized the people and led to a frenzy of penance and mortification. This seems never to have reached in England the extravagances which appeared in other countries. But as a psychological by-product of the plague the rise of the Flagellants is instructive.

There emerged, out of a perfectly orthodox and religious penitential Confraternity, which had, from time to time, taken on bursts of activity in various forms, a sort of latent emotional pietism, always liable to erupt in times of fear and distress. Following the plague of 1259 in Italy there was such an exacerbation, starting in Perugia in 1260. This was led by the clergy, but became fanatical, and in 1261 was forbidden by the Pope. Though the movement ceased in Italy wandering Flagellants are heard of in Germany as late as 1290. In 1334 Venturino of Bergamo, a Dominican, tried to revive the processions, and led 10,000 followers to Rome where they were ill-received. Venturino went on to Avignon to interview the Pope, who promptly relegated him to his friary.

The Black Death reached Italy in 1347, and was followed by earthquakes in 1348. These events, added to the laxity of the clergy and scandals in the Church, caused the Flagellants to reappear. They set out to inculcate a spirit of penance and mortification amongst the people, calling on them to make amends for their sins, whilst they undertook, by scourging themselves in processions, to obtain the Divine pardon. Their preaching was generally associated with the passion of Christ. Members joined the association for a period of thirty-three and a half days. Each member contributed fourpence a day for maintenance. They were forbidden to enter houses, except on invitation, or to speak with women. They wore a white habit, with a red cross on the breast and back and also on the cap. Twice a day they stripped to the waist and were scourged, first by the master; then each scourged himself with a triple scourge, reinforced by points of iron. Afterwards they lay down, taking a position according to their sins, the murderer on his back, the adulterer on his face, the per-

jurer on his side with three fingers extended, and so on. All this was done in public. The processions led to mass hysteria and became more and more fanatical.

This movement spread, and in spreading carried the plague with it. But in certain places it supplied aid for the plague-stricken. In Italy it founded hostels for sick and destitute, and some of the confraternities exist to-day as charitable societies. Passing into Flanders, Holland, Bohemia, Poland and Denmark the movement reached England in September, 1349; but the English, while showing pity, admiration and amusement, failed to join in. Knighton reports the arrival of a number of Flagellants from Holland and their demonstrations at St. Paul's. In Germany the Flagellant craze rapidly became heretical. The clergy were ousted from their positions, churches were invaded and the fanatics professed to absolve one another. On 20th October, 1349, the Pope condemned the whole movement, inhibited the public penances, and excommunicated any who continued the pilgrimages. Philip VI of France refused to allow Flagellants in France, and Manfred, King of Sicily, threatened them with death.

The Flagellants next hit upon the notion of blaming the Jews for the plague, an idea of perennial appeal to the Germans. They built over the wells and springs because, they said, the Jews were poisoning the water. The persecution seems to have started at Chillon in September, 1348. Everywhere people swore to extirpate the Jews, who were either hounded to death or burned alive. At Basle, at Freyburgh, Spire, Strasbourg and Mainz horrible scenes were enacted and great numbers of Jews perished by the instigation of the Flagellants. The Pope at Avignon not only protected the Jews, but issued two Bulls declaring them innocent of causing the plague and forbidding their persecution.

These were some of the immediate effects of the Plague. The remote effects were even more serious and more lasting. Whatever estimate is accepted for the plague mortality, there seems little doubt that the depopulation was extreme. So much so that it took 150 years to regain in England the population level of 1348. As late as the sixteenth century the Venetian ambassador is telling of ruined streets and deserted houses in England. While the scarcity of labour enabled the villein to secure his freedom from manorial labour services, this weakened the position of both temporal and spiritual land holders, who suffered not only by the dearth of skilled workmen, but also by the destruction of crops and cattle. The diminution of the power of the great landowners increased the power of the King, removing a strong check to irresponsible government.

The Church, besides being involved in these general consequences, had its own special difficulties. The clergy had been badly hit by the plague. Three Archbishops of Canterbury were consecrated and buried in a year. At Westminster Abbey the Abbot and 26 monks

were buried in one grave. In the county of Norfolk 527 out of 799 priests died, and Cardinal Gasquet estimated that two-thirds of the clergy of England were carried off by the plague. The Friars Minor were reckoned to have lost 13,883 members in Europe. The Religious Orders, because of the aggregation of their members in the monasteries, will have suffered more than the Secular Clergy. Bishops and Superiors were hard put to it to secure subjects to fill the vacancies, and made the fatal error of ordaining and accepting half-trained and uneducated men. We find for example the Bishop of Norwich obtaining a Bull from Pope Clement VI to enable him to ordain sixty youths under twenty-one years of age. The monasteries had to cope with an influx of widowers, mostly uneducated and possibly destitute. A Franciscan historian attributes the decay of the Order to the Black Death: "Our illustrious members being carried off, the rigour of discipline, relaxed by these calamities, could not be renewed by youths received without the necessary training, rather to fill the empty houses than to restore the lost discipline."

The total result for the Church was that, in a period which should have been one of reconstruction, the natural guides of the people were often incompetent. Religious houses, with diminished incomes and diminished numbers, were unable to keep properly to the rule, or provide the offices of the Church, and so religion deteriorated. Religion also suffered from the swarms of homeless clergy, pardoners, hermits and pilgrims who begged and cadged their way about the countryside. It is to this period that Langland's "Vision of Piers Plowman" belongs.

There was, as Knighton says, "a loosening of the bonds of society." The basis of Christian civilization was shaken by the breaking up of families; and the loss of a peasantry, by the putting of the land down to pasture, added to the social instability. Two hundred years later St. Thomas More looked out on the English landscape and said, "Sheep are eating men, and where there were once 4,000 husbandmen there is now one shepherd." It was the end of an era. The *ante pestam* world had ceased suddenly. Some writers have seen the change symbolized in the abrupt cessation of the Decorated style in architecture. "The song ceases in the midst of the melody," says one writer, "and when they began to build again men turned to the sombre and mild gravity of the Perpendicular, in which lies hid all the scepticism of the Renaissance and of the modern world."

Poverty and social instability form a medium in which tyranny can flourish. Power flows to the centre because there is a lessened sense of responsibility elsewhere. A contented peasantry and a powerful nobility tend to keep power diffused. Thus a weakened Church and a weakened people gave opportunity to the tyrant—the autocratic Tudor who presented a dispossessed people with a dispossessed Church subjected to his own authority.

R. G. COOKSON.

ARGENTINE IMPRESSIONS

FROM BUENOS AIRES TO CORDOBA

A JOURNEY must begin somewhere. This one began shortly before 6 o'clock of the evening at the terminus of the Central Argentino railway in Buenos Aires. The day was the Assumption and, as I left the Colegio del Salvador in the Avenida Callao, I was interested in, and somewhat intrigued by, the preparations that were being made for an evening procession of Our Lady through the corridors and cortiles of the school. In a large courtyard, planted with spreading palm trees, the Papal and national flags were gracefully intertwined on standards, making a tasteful pattern in gold and white and light blue. The members of the Police Band that was to play during the procession were already chatting there in groups before I left.

"The Central Argentino" is one of the four railways in the Republic that have been constructed and developed by the British. For some time negotiations have been in progress for the handing over of these lines to the Argentine Government: it is part of the price that Britain must pay for her efforts and sacrifices of the World War. The negotiations have been delayed in their final stages, it seems, because of the measures recently taken in London to stop the convertibility of sterling into dollars. But even by the time this article appears the situation may again have altered, and the deal been made complete.

The carriages of the Central Argentino are like railway carriages on the continent of Europe. They are high and box-like and lack the curve and comfortable look of carriages in Britain. However, they have roomy and upholstered seats, and in the rear Pullman coach are cosy armchairs with restful leaning backs. You could travel a long way in comfort on the Central Argentino. Indeed, you require that comfort, for some of the distances are very long. The journey from Mendoza to Buenos Aires—this time on the Buenos Aires Pacific line—takes sixteen hours in the fastest train, El Cuyano, and about twenty-four in any other.

At 6 o'clock the train steamed smoothly out of the station into the winter night which had just gathered. At the latitude of thirty-four degrees south of the equator evening deepens quickly into night, and the twilight passes rapidly; July to September is winter in the Argentine. For what must have been fully half an hour the train glided by streets and open places all brilliantly lit, with globes and bowls of electric light, with an abandon that we have not known for many a year in austere Britain. Neon signs and notices shone in blue and green and red from shops and hoardings. Buenos Aires is a very large city and occupies an extensive area. But in the suburbs country meets town; grass grows in the streets and paved roadways merge into paths

of beaten earth. It is as though the countryside were eating into the town ; in effect it is the town that pushes steadily into the countryside.

The lights recede, and darkness remains. The eye sees nothing, but the eye of imagination can conjure up the vision of the broad and massive Spanish Rio de la Plata or River Plate, near to which the train is running. Shortly before midnight we came to Rosario, where I was met at the station by the English Director of the *Asociación Rosarina de Cultura Inglesa*. Perhaps it is too early to pay tribute. But it must be done sometime, so let it be done collectively here. I cannot speak too highly of the kindness and competence of those concerned with the different centres of English Culture which I was able to visit in the Northern and Western Argentine. I was met and looked after and then despatched carefully to the next centre, as though I had been some registered parcel. For their attention and courtesy I am most grateful, and I learnt also to have a deep appreciation of the work they are doing to bring home to the people of the Argentine a knowledge of the language and the culture of Britain.

Rosario is a new town even for a New World. To-day, it is the second city of the Argentine, with a population that well exceeds 500,000. Yet in the first year of the nineteenth century it was an insignificant village with 400 inhabitants. And fifty years afterwards that number was only 3,000. None the less it can point to an early foundation, and to Don Francisco di Godoy as its founder. Godoy came to Rosario from Santa Fe, further up the reaches of the Parana, in 1725 ; and in that same year was established a small chapel of our Lady of the Rosary which became the focal point of the new settlement. But it was not until a century later, in 1836, that the oratory became a church, the ancestor of the cathedral of to-day.

Rosario owes its present importance partly to its position, one hundred and eighty miles up the rivers Plate and Parano from Buenos Aires, where it can be reached by ocean-going ships ; and partly to the fact that it is the natural port for the provinces that form its hinterland, among them the wealthy agricultural lands of Santa Fe and Córdoba. Part of its significance attaches, however, to what might be called an historical accident, or, better, to the interplay of stress and strain in the development of the Argentine Republic.

The period after 1852 was a crucial one in this development. The tension between the province of Buenos Aires and the other districts of the Argentine came to a head. Urquiza, the Provisional Director of the Argentine Federation, organized a Constituent Congress which was to assemble in Santa Fe. The province of Buenos Aires declared itself independent, seceded from the Confederation, and would send no deputy to the Congress. For seven years two Governments existed, each with the machinery of a separate State. Urquiza concluded, in 1853, economic treaties with the United States, France and Britain,

and in these treaties the Confederation opened all Argentine interior waters to the merchant ships of other countries. Rosario, the chief port of the Federation, grew rapidly. Its total population increased from 9,785, in 1853, to 23,169 in the next decade; to 112,461 by the turn of the century; to close on 300,000 by 1923; and to well over half a million to-day.

Rosario looks a new city. Its buildings are bright and clean. Stone does not weather in the clear atmosphere of Argentina as it does beneath the grey rain and shifting clouds of Britain. It has been constructed on a draughtboard pattern seen, incidentally, in most Argentine cities, and reminiscent, I imagine, of the United States. The streets are divided into "blocks"; and one hundred numbers are allotted to each block. You can easily find the house you are looking for, for successive blocks start with a "4," a "5," a "6," and so on. As the number of houses in these blocks is not even, you may discover that the house number immediately following, say, 614 will be 622, for no apparent reason save that the series from 600 to 699 has to be used up before you arrive at the next side turning. There is novelty too in the manner of naming the streets. The word "street" is not employed, though there are spacious "avenues" or *Avenidas* in Buenos Aires, and I did come upon a *Boulevard* in Rosario. Usually the word "street" is omitted, which means, I take it, understood. And with the Argentine fondness for calling their thoroughfares after characters and battles from their nineteenth century history, you might very well find yourself living in Maupu 156 or San Martin 1475 or Moreno 794. It is as though, in London, your address were Oliver Cromwell 1896 instead of 176 Cromwell Road, or you lived at Balaclava 378 or Winston Churchill 1569, though I do not think that the Argentines have come, like the Germans in Hitler's day, to "stratifying" living persons.

A Catholic visitor to Rosario might have the feeling that, for a Catholic population, the number of churches is far too small. Certainly, there are no old churches, tucked away in courts and corners, as there are on the European Continent. Everything is so new. Even the cathedral, which can lay claim to a tradition, if not an actual existence, of two hundred years, is itself recent. It was constructed as a parish church in 1887, and the whole sanctuary was remodelled in 1925. The remarkable development of Rosario can be assessed, from the ecclesiastical side, by the fact that Rosario was first erected into a diocese in 1934, and that its first Bishop, Mons. Caggiano, previously Vicar General of the Armed Forces and parish priest of Nuestra Señora de Luján in Buenos Aires, was created a Cardinal in 1946.

The work of church building must inevitably lag behind such a rapid growth as this. However, churches have been built, not only here but elsewhere in the Argentine, and in considerable numbers in the past

twenty years. Cardinal Copello had added many to the archdiocese of Buenos Aires. Among churches in Rosario are that of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, belonging to the Claretians, who founded a mission in the city in 1904; that of *Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1909, though it did not in fact become a parish church until 1929; and the Redemptorist church, *Nuestra Señora del Perpetuo Socorro*, begun in 1910 among working class suburbs. My impression also is that there is still a shortage of priests in Rosario. There is no seminary, though Cardinal Caggiano plans to have one very shortly. I said Mass on four mornings in the Cathedral, and on each occasion I was most graciously welcomed and asked to say Mass at the High Altar and at a specified hour. I met only two priests on the cathedral staff, Mons. Nuñez, the administrator, and a curate; but one or two, I understand, were ill with that all-prevailing "grippe," a combination of fever and influenza which, in certain parts of the Argentine, has shut the schools for several weeks on end and laid as many as one quarter of the population low.

I met in Rosario a number of English people and still more Argentines who were interested in England and English. Fisherton, a suburb, is supposed to be characteristically English. There is a golf club, which looked very pleasant, with its unusual setting of eucalyptus and paraiso trees, even though its greens were scorched by the long drought. It had then not rained in the Argentine for four months. The number of English is dwindling, and Fisherton is no more the English centre that once it was. I passed a most pleasant afternoon and evening there with some English families, and a second afternoon, having tea and lecturing to the Catholic Club of Our Lady in Rosario. This is an association of ladies, English or speaking English. They met for the occasion in the large house of a Welsh lady, who had completed her medical course at the Royal Free Hospital in London, is now a mother of nine children, and one of the most active members and teachers of English at the Rosario Institute. The audience comprised English and Anglo-Argentine and Irish-Argentine; on the whole, the Irish have intermarried more with Spaniards and Italians. For them this was more natural, since most of them came to the Argentine to stay, and they shared the same faith with the people, among whom they lived and worked. The Vicar General of Rosario, whom I saw for well over an hour, when I went to visit Mgr. Martinez, the Bishop Auxiliary, has the name of Casey, while the Bishop of Mendoza is Mons. Buteler, which makes one suspect that originally there was no middle "e" in the name and that it derived from an island in the Northern hemisphere.

Of the English Institute in Rosario, which, as I have already indicated, has the official title of *Asociación Rosarina de Cultura Inglesa*, I will say little except that it is competently administered, housed in an attractive building, which is too small for its requirements, and that it

is staffed by a keen team of teachers, only three of whom are English, the remainder being Argentine, mostly of Spanish origin. It has language classes, all on the direct method ; occasional lectures and discussions ; and the register for 1946 contained, during the months of May to July, over fifteen hundred names of pupils. Add to this figure eight hundred more students inscribed at various smaller dependent centres in the neighbourhood of Rosario, and you have a fair notion of the interest which is now taken, in the Argentine, in the English language and English literature, and also some idea of the efforts made by the British Council to make use of, as well as cater for, this interest. I had no conception, before I saw the work of these centres, how important the work is.

From Rosario I went to Santa Fe. The distance is not great, and you can travel from one city to the other in a morning. You go best by motor bus. I was led to believe that this particular bus service had its hazards, partly because with the bus ticket you receive an insurance policy. That a policy of the kind should be even considered, made me wonder about the service. And I must confess that, when I went to the station from which the bus started and saw there, in some obvious connection with the bus, a most fearsome looking *gaucho*, I thought the insurance policy not out of place. However, the *gaucho* was not our driver who was an obviously competent and careful motorman. Out of Rosario the bus travelled over what is typical Argentine country near the River Plate. The road ran straight with a concrete way in the middle, sufficient for traffic to pass easily ; but the concrete was laid on earth, and at both sides of the paved portion were dusty tracks, along which now and then would ride a *gaucho*, with that curious yet effective slow canter or lope that takes the Argentine horseman many a long mile. To either side of the road, the country stretched as far as the horizon, scarcely broken save here and there by a line of thickset poplar trees. Ploughed fields extended mile after mile, all ready for the spring to come ; and they were followed by vast grazing spaces, on which hundreds of cattle fed leisurely, moving from patch to patch of thin grass or lucerne. We passed through villages, hastily put together and improvised, with no claim to attractiveness, all strictly utilitarian ; and the road sped *by* them, not through their midst. From time to time you could see big agricultural establishments or the centres of some co-operative, with occasional orchards. But this region is not fruitful, in the narrowest sense ; its wealth lies in grain and cattle.

Santa Fe is an old city, of Spanish origin, as its very Catholic name would show. It was founded in 1573 by Don Juan de Garay. The church of the Jesuits, which keeps the name of *San Merced* because it was cared for by the *Mercedarios* when the Society of Jesus was expelled from New Spain, was constructed in 1654. Its façade, remaining from the original building, gives an ancient and colonial note to the city. The cathedral belonged to the middle of the sixteenth century, but

subsequently the older building was dismantled and a new three-naved cathedral was raised in the nineteenth century. The church of San Francisco is another reminder of Spanish colonial days. It, too, dates from the seventeenth century, and has an interior roofing of cedar and mother of pearl ; it is charmingly set among palms and rose trees. Its treasury includes some interesting relics of the past : among them, a statue of Our Lady presented to the Franciscans by the wife of Juan de Garay, the city's founder, and a picture of the Crucifixion sent to Santa Fe as a gift by the Queen of Spain. Santo Domingo, the Dominican church, is new, at least as it now stands ; but the present church is in reality a ninth edition of an original, continually rebuilt and refashioned. This ninth edition is broad and spacious and impressive.

Santa Fe has a population of something over one hundred thousand. It is a charming city, where the new blends with what remains from Spanish times, and where the *tempo* of life is leisurely. It is the centre of a wealthy province and this wealth reflects itself in patrician houses and well-laid squares and gardens, as also in the size and quality of its shopping centre, surprisingly lavish for what is after all a provincial and no large provincial town. Of the shops themselves it would be tantalising to speak. Here, as elsewhere in the Argentine, there is an air of plenty. I cannot recall that English shop windows were ever so full and so bright. Prices have soared in the Argentine during the past year, and many things are dearer, some much dearer, than in England. But the things are there—in profusion. The goods appear to tumble out of the shop doors, so anxious they seem to be bought and to become your property. There are two shortages, about which complaints can everywhere be heard : the first, of petrol, and every one of course has his own explanation of the deficiency ; the second, of potatoes. But in a land, which flows—if not with milk and honey, at least with meat and fruit—the absence of that useful vegetable might well pass unnoticed.

In Santa Fe there is an old Jesuit college. To the side of the older school (and this has been incorporated in the new) is a fine new series of buildings dating from 1924 to 1927. On the staff there I discovered one Spanish Jesuit, Father Pla, who studied theology at St. Beuno's from 1921 to 1925, and during the civil war in Spain was sent to the Argentine ; also a younger Jesuit, Father Bullrich, now General Prefect, who attended the lectures I gave in Rome in 1938. I have found another co-pupil of his, a secular priest, named Olmedo, who is teaching philosophy at the Institute of Higher Religious Studies, a remarkable work initiated by Cardinal Copello which is under the direction of Miss Montes de Oca, in Buenos Aires : but of this more on some other occasion. The present college has two hundred boarders, and several hundred day students. It is conservative in that it treasures the traditions of the Society in what was once a great missionary centre,

but is definitely progressive as the following fact will show. At one side of the large gravel playground they are busy constructing what must, I think, be one of the largest swimming baths in any college. Round the bath will be seats for one thousand spectators ; the bath itself slopes from a depth of two metres at one end to five metres at the other (that is from more than 6 feet to well over 15), the younger boys having a smaller swimming pool of their own. For changing, 300 cubicles are to be added in one wing, and the playground is to have a large gymnasium. While I was there, concrete mixers were busy, and the roof that is to be a vault over the swimming bath was nearing completion.

Santa Fe was then suffering from a widespread epidemic of the "grippe." Most schools were shut and had been for many weeks. The Jesuit college was to be forced to grant a holiday to its day boys, though not one single case of the illness had been discovered among the two hundred boarders. The English Institute had been closed for three weeks. Its director, Señor Perkins, was confined to his home at Guadalupe, with bronchitis. I call him "Señor," for the reason that he has been in the Argentine for forty years, has run rest-houses and a sanatorium in the Sierras around Córdoba and, although he is a Non-conformist of the older type, has considerable sympathy with Catholics. In himself, he was about as English as could be ; he might have stepped from a boat or plane yesterday, with all the atmosphere of Britain ; and there was an Englishness about his speech that showed little trace of those forty years under the Southern sun. I was told that he conducted a Free Church service on Sundays for a small group of British residents. I was glad to chat with him in his villa near the lake of Guadalupe, whither I was taken by his Argentine secretary. As the English Institute was closed, I lectured in a hall of the Museum, a new building, very admirably arranged, with excellent collections of paintings by the Argentine artist, Bernaldo de Quirós. Most of his pictures are of Argentine life between 1820 and 1850 ; they left me with a sense of vivid colour, especially red and gold and green, and of strong movement ; the series of gaucho paintings, of the same period, is deservedly famous. In Santa Fe I lectured, by request, on Chesterton, whose works have been translated into Spanish and they are widely read in the Argentine. Dare I confess that I could not resist the obvious gambit, in the city of Santa Fe, of saying that I was delighted to have the opportunity of speaking about a man whom Pius XI had characterised, in a telegram to Archbishop Hinsley on learning of G.K.'s death, as a "Defender of the Faith" ?

From Santa Fe you can go to Córdoba, and you may travel by what is known as the *Coche Motor*. This is a small one-carriage Diesel train, that runs across the country and must surely be the dustiest railway in all the world. The country between Santa Fe and Córdoba is flat, rich-soiled and open. After four months without rain, the dust rises

from the fields in eddies ; a few horses gallop and they are soon enveloped in the dust cloud they evoke, like magic, from the ground. To either side of the *Coche Motor* are vistas of horses and cattle, many of the latter of Dutch and Frisian ancestry, and known in the Argentine as *Holandos Argentinos*. The Diesel train stops at dusty halts ; the sun rises higher and grows warmer and, remember, it is a winter's sun. Dust creeps through nook and cranny, seeps up through the floor-boards ; and if some more adventurous spirit dare open a window, it swirls in to create fancy dust patterns on the carriage floor. Long before you reach Córdoba your clothes will be covered with a fine sediment, and your face and hands smeared. I can recall on that journey putting together notes for a lecture to be given that evening, and in French, at Córdoba ; and a lengthy three-languaged conversation, in French, Italian and Spanish—the Spanish being contributed by the others—that started from the subject of dust and somehow got on to religion and Martin Luther, and ended with the story of some of the old Jesuit foundations near Córdoba, notably that of Alta Gracia. Eventually, we reached Córdoba, where, as usual, I was collected by the President and Director of the local English Institute and taken to the Jesuit residence. Argentine dust is soon brushed from clothes and washed from hands and face.

I was soon glad of the opportunity of seeing something of Córdoba. It is a totally different city from Rosario and sufficiently different from Santa Fe. It lies—a city of more than three hundred thousand inhabitants—in a large bowl, from which the towers and spires of churches rise as from some European city. To the north and west may be seen the long low hills of the Sierras—brown, russet hills, with the earth showing darkly through shrubs and bushes. It was to Córdoba that the Spaniards came, riding from the north, on their journey south from Peru through Tucumán and Santiago del Estero. Shortly after 1570 Córdoba was founded, by Don Geronimo Luis de Cabrera.

Córdoba gave me my first glimpse of country other than that of the Pampas, through which I had passed for more than four hundred miles, since leaving Buenos Aires. To one side of the town was a slight eminence that has been converted into a most attractive park, with amenities like an open air Greek theatre and terraced walks. There is a view right across the city to the hills. The city is restful, despite its measure of industry, for the country round is rich with wheat and maize ; Córdoba has large mills. It is a university town. One grows aware of a "gown" and "town" atmosphere in Córdoba, only the "gown" belongs to the people of Córdoba, while the "townsfolk" are the *porteños*, the folk of Buenos Aires, who are regarded in older-world Córdoba as *nouveaux riches* and commercial and materialist. Steadily refusing to be dragged into these delicate matters, on which only Argentines can pronounce proper judgment, I must confess that Córdoba has its own atmosphere. I was there only three days, and

was kept fully occupied with meetings and interviews and one broadcast, to say nothing of two conferences, and I had little time save to see the major features of the city, including the churches and university. But I met there with great friendliness and, if I be permitted to pay one individual tribute, it would be to a delightful young engineer-architect and his charming wife, who insisted on taking me far out into the Sierras, on the Sunday afternoon, into that region where so many people of the Argentine spend their holidays in the summer.

For the Society of Jesus Córdoba has very ancient and most intimate associations. The earliest Jesuits came to Córdoba about 1587, and here they established a *Collegium Maximum* in 1610. There were some initial troubles, with the result that the Provincial was compelled, in 1611 and 1612, to send his students of Arts and Theology elsewhere. However, they returned in 1614. In August, 1621, this college of the Jesuits was erected by Pope Gregory XV into the University of Córdoba.¹ It is thus one of the oldest universities in the New World. At one flank of the university buildings was established, in 1687, the college of Monserrat. Both buildings exist to-day, much as they then did. The college of Monserrat is a high class grammar school. The university, which fell on evil days after the Society was banished from the New World dominions of His Spanish Majesty, was revived in 1870 by President Sarmiento and has achieved new distinction. But the memory of the Society of Jesus lingers in its cortiles and its library. This fine library hall dates from Jesuit days, and through one set of its windows you look down into one of the courtyards of the old, and present, Jesuit residence.

The Society's church in Córdoba was built between 1640 and 1666, and it adjoins the residence of the Fathers on the side opposite to the university. A splendid edifice, with simple exterior, it has a barrelled interior roof of cedar, graceful proportions, and a large altar piece that contains statues of native workmanship from the old missionary times. It is known in Córdoba simply as the church of the *Compañía*. The cathedral is larger, older in its foundation, but much later in completion. Incidentally, its architects were two Jesuit lay brothers, Primoli and Andres Bianchi.

JOHN MURRAY.

¹ An article such as this which records impressions has no call, and indeed no right, to enter into controversy. In the cortile of the university to-day which is the old cortile of the Jesuit university of earlier days, stands a statue of the Bishop Fernando Trejo de Sanabria, with an inscription referring to him as the university's founder. The very complete volume on *Los Jesuitas en Cordoba*, published by Father Joaquín Gracia, S.J., in 1940, strongly disputes the validity of this reference and suggests that the Bishop did no more than promise financial assistance to the project.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

THE "IESU DULCIS MEMORIA"

TRANSLATED BY GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS, S.J.

THE following version of some stanzas of the famous hymn usually attributed to St. Bernard was discovered recently, with other Hopkins papers, at the Farm Street residence of the Jesuits in London, by Fr. Arthur Bischoff, S.J. It is here reproduced (the first exclusive publication in Great Britain) by the kind permission of the Very Rev. M. D'Arcy, S.J., Provincial, by whom all rights of reproduction are reserved.

External evidence points to an early date for these lines, when Hopkins, soon after his conversion, was with Newman at the Oratory School in Edgbaston; but the rhythms, here and there, hint at the later manner, and even remind one especially of the untitled poem on Margaret Clitheroe which was probably one of the last that he wrote.

Of the 50 or more Latin stanzas to be found in the manuscripts Fr. Hopkins took for translation those five which are used to form the hymn for first vespers of the Feast of the Holy Name. Before the last of these he inserted one stanza (*Jesu, dulcedo cordium*) from the hymn for matins and one (*Mane nobiscum, Domine*) from the hymn for lauds. The translation is in that close form of paraphrase which can hold all the thought of the original and add beauties of its own.

JESUS to cast one thought upon
Makes gladness after He is gone;
But more than honey and honeycomb
Is to come near and take Him home.

Song never was so sweet in ear,
Word never was such news to hear,
Thought half so sweet there is not one
As Jesus God the Father's Son.

Jesu, their hope who go astray,
So kind to those who ask the way,
So good to those who look for Thee,
To those who find what must Thou be?

To speak of that no tongue will do
Nor letters suit to spell it true:
But they can guess who have tasted of
What Jesus is and what is love.

Jesu, a springing well Thou art,
Daylight to head and treat to heart,
And matched with Thee there's nothing glad
That can be wished or can be had.

Wish us Good morning when we wake
 And light us, Lord, with Thy daybreak.
 Beat from our brains the thick night
 And fill the world up with delight.

Be our delight, O Jesu, now
 As by and by our prize art Thou,
 And grant our glorying may be
 World without end alone in Thee.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE "FIORETTI"

THE new French translation of the *Fioretti* just published by Father Godefroy, O.F.M. Cap., with a preface and various historical critical and bibliographical commentaries—pp. XLIX, 314, Paris, Marcel Daubin, 94 rue d'Alésiac—is so far the most scholarly version we have in France. It is based on the most ancient printed text, the Milan incunabulum or T.M. There are three known copies of the T.M. in Italy and three in France; it bears for title: *La vita e miracula de santo Francescho e suoi fratri, de sancta Chiara* (Milano, Antonio Zarotto de Parma, 1477). "T.M.," writes Father Godefroy, "is in Italian quite close to the Latin of the *Actus*. The spelling is archaic. There is plenty of Latin words. The syntax is entirely Latin. T.M. contains three more chapters than the current versions, three chapters referring to the Portiuncula."

The origin of the Fioretti.—The origin of the *Fioretti* is complex. They are both a translation and an adaption, in 53 chapters, of the 76 chapters of the *Actus beati Francisci* (14th century). There are various other sources, among them the *legenda prima* by Thomas de Celano (circa 1229), the *legenda secunda* by the same Thomas de Celano (circa 1247) and the *legenda major* written by St. Bonaventure in 1261.

The historical value of the Fioretti.—Father Godefroy compares the *Fioretti* to a medieval romance of chivalry. The hero is St. Francis, Christ's standard-bearer, leading his companions to the conquest of the Franciscan Holy Grail, the virtue of poverty. The most conspicuous of these companions are Bernard de Quintavalle, the first man of Assisi who gives up all his fortune; Masseo de Marignano, a fine talker and a dry humorist; brother Leo, *la pecorella di Dio*, God's little lamb, who is the hero of the most Franciscan chapter of the *Fioretti*, chapter 8, about perfect joy; brother Rufino, who seeks poverty in solitary woods and caves; Mother Clare, who is praying in the monastery of San-Damiano. Lastly, there is the usual traitor of any romance of chivalry, brother Elie de Cortone. In fact, brother Elie de Cortone is calumniated in the *Fioretti*. A skilful organizer and administrator, he was, in 1221, chosen by St. Francis himself to take the government of the new Order. One has to remember that the Order multiplied and developed very quickly and was soon divided into two tendencies: the spiritual or *rigoriste*, attached to the primitive rule, to poverty and contemplation; the *moderate* or *mitigated*, brothers who thought of the needs of the Church and of the progress of the Order. Brother Elie de Cortone was the first leader of the *Moderates*; and the *Fioretti*, especially the last chapters, are of *Spiritual* inspiration. Like most historians of Franciscanism—P. Sabatier, A. G. Little, Father Gratiene Pierre Leprouhou—Father Godefroy looks upon the *Fioretti* as a collection

of legends, often starting from real facts and characters, but mixing them up and deforming them. No genuine biographer, no authentic portrait of St. Francis and his companions can be drawn from them. Yet there is a general truth in the *Fioretti*, a truth of atmosphere and climate. St. Francis was sent by God when the Church needed him to restore the evangelical virtues of poverty, humility, obedience, the sense of prayer and contemplation, the loving trust in God and in the Virgin Mary.

The theological and mystical value of the Fioretti.—On this point Father Godefroy is rather severe. He considers that the theology and mysticism of the *Fioretti* are often decadent, puzzling and leading to illusionism. They multiply, somewhat at random, the certainty of salvation, the canonisations, revelations, ecstasies, childish miracles; they forgot the voluntary and persevering virtues of St. Francis and his companions. A similar deformation is now taking place around such heroical figures as St. John of the Cross or St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus.

The literary value of the Fioretti.—The average reader of the *Fioretti* does not look forward to finding in them much historical or theological knowledge. He enjoys them as a collection of delightful and marvellous pious tales. Some chapters belong to the most graceful and enchanting Christian literature of imagination. For instance, chapter 8, about perfect joy, perfect joy being to suffer with Christ and for Christ; chapter 16, the sermon to the birds; chapter 19, the story of the person who had his vineyard plundered by pilgrims and yet gathered some twenty barrels of excellent wine; chapter 21, the wolf of Gubbio, etc.

Father Godefroy has not been able, any more than his predecessors, to discover who were the authors and translators of the *Actus*. He cites and discusses a few possible names, but does not conceal that hitherto no certainty has been reached.

PIERRE MESSIAEN.

SHORT NOTICE

The 'little story' of Salvator Pane; by G. d'Asaro, printed at Subiaco, is published under the title **Dal Gradini Dell' Altare Al Trono Di Dio**. This is the account of a young Italian boy, born (June 28th, 1932), in New York, but who lived somewhat, agitatedly (because of the war), in the hills above Amalfi or Agerola and finally in Rome, where he died January 4th, 1946. He won the first prize for catechism before he could even read, which embarrassed the Bishop not a little, since the prize was a specially fine book. He achieved, too, his ambition, which was to become a 'Chierichetto,' or little cleric: this is unfamiliar to us, I think: I cannot see that an altar-server incurs fewer 'obligations' than a 'chierichetto' does, nor do we dress our servers up in clerical collars. The charm of the tiny book lies, for me, in its Italian 'naturalness': even the way in which the little boy took to prayer and simply lived in it was 'natural' in the sense of being wholly unaffected. Fortunately a number of photographs are included, which show Salvator as round-headed, chubby, bubbling with fun (like most of his fellow-servers, I am glad to say) even when dressed up in cassock and cotta and made to hold his hands together. Why then is our enjoyment lessened by the picture on the cover, with its enormous up-turned eyes, its lips prim and pursed, and an angel flying duly to heaven above the very sensible modern church of the Nativity?

II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

One of the new post-war Reviews from the Continent welcomed by *THE MONTH* on this page last January was *Lumen Vitae*, of which the two numbers forming its first volume (1946) were there reviewed. We have now received the two numbers issued during the present year. To the first of them Fr. John Murray, editor of *THE MONTH* (who is now making contacts in the Argentine), contributed a twenty-one page article of great interest to English readers on "Christian Formation in the R.A.F." The whole story is set forth of the Leadership Courses in the Royal Air Force during the war, initiated by Mgr. Beauchamp, senior Catholic chaplain to the Air Forces, and inspired by the Sword of the Spirit. There are some additional pages on similar work in the Army, particularly in Egypt and the Near East generally. The article is in English, for this "International Review of Religious Education" carries that sub-title in French and English and contains articles in both these languages and in German. Thus another English article in the same number deals with the Sodality of Our Lady in elementary schools in the United States, by J. Heeg, S.J. Among the French articles one, illustrated by photographs, describes at length the new large boarding school for boys founded by the Oratory Fathers at Pontoise. Here some of the ideas of the English Public Schools, in particular the system of separate boarding houses, have been adopted. Another article in French deals with the "Catholic African Union" which has been formed among native Christians in South Africa. It is by Père Seumois, O.M.I., of the Institutum Missionale Scientificum in Rome. The second of the two numbers for this year provides a no less varied range of subjects: among others *L'Enseignement de la Religion à l'Université*; the Department of Religious Education, Fordham University; *Camps Catechistiques*; *Dramatisation and Miming by Children* (by R. F. Barton, Chairman of the Religious Education Committee of the Westminster Catholic Teachers' Association). *Lumen Vitae* keeps up its admirable format and its generous bulk of 200 pages; the annual subscription for Great Britain is £1.

Among interesting papers in *Studies* for the last quarter of this year is one on Daniel O'Connell for the centenary year of his death, which pays tribute to the Liberator's constant Catholic faith and piety. "The Jesuits in Waterford," by Canon Power, and "James Boswell: a Problem," by B. G. MacCarthy, are two other interesting papers. The latter successfully refutes recent attempts to make a lunatic and a degenerate of the greatest of biographers. The reviews are not the least interesting part of this number, particularly one of an American book about Shakespeare's religion, and two which, dealing with Père Maréchal's "*Le Point de Départ de la Métaphysique*," and with a book on the Epistemology of St. Thomas, take occasion to consider the attitude of Neo-Thomism to the idealist philosophers since Kant, and to the theory of human knowledge as presented by St. Thomas himself.

The Fordham University quarterly for September, *Thought*, opens with an American view of the European situation. The writer considers that "World leadership has certainly offered no advantages to the people of America: the burdens connected with it are very heavy . . . and may prove almost too great in the future." But this reflection does not hinder him from arraigning the leadership, or lack of it, provided for

Europe by Britain. All her recent statesmen engaged in foreign affairs have been at fault, except Mr. Churchill, and he was overridden by his colleagues. Her last folly was complaisance towards Russia during the war. In this, however, the late President Roosevelt was also implicated: "The final blow was handed to Europe at Teheran when President Roosevelt, after a two day debate, decided in favour of Stalin's strategic plan as against Churchill's," i.e. invasion via the Balkans. The future for this writer is extremely dark, but he believes that America's self-interest makes any further isolationism impossible. Articles on Kafka's *Castle* (in which fantasy a sense of man's fall and need of a supernatural redemption is said to be involved), on the English Romantic Poets as prophets of a sentimental pantheism; and on Milton ("A Paradise Remembered") and some of his derivatives, especially Dante, all contain interesting ideas. So do some of the "Editorials", notably a review (by C. A. Brady) of C. S. Lewis's anthology from the works of George MacDonald.

The last three numbers of *Etudes* show that long-lived journal fully recovered from the vicissitudes of war and presenting its ever varied but always Catholic programme to all who have an interest in literature, art, or world affairs. These last are naturally in the forefront at present, and several of the articles devoted to them are of interest for English-speaking readers. In the current number Fr. Lafarge, director of *America*, discusses the Catholic Church in the United States from a world view-point. American Catholics, he thinks, are only now beginning to realize the nature of their responsibilities towards the mass of their fellow countrymen, in whom religion survives after a fashion that becomes ever more and more a matter of vague and emotional morality. Now that their country is entering on world-wide tasks, mere defence of their rights by Catholics is less important than the upholding of the truth of the supernatural, and of the ideas which only a supernatural faith can inspire. A French political question takes first place in the July-August number, where Jean Rivero explains the new statute of *Union* of France with her colonies overseas. By this it is sought to effect a unity of a kind almost the opposite of the loose federalism of the British Commonwealth. An article by P. de Saint-Seine, in June, on modern advances in the control of life by experimental biology—in the realms of embryology, sex determination, and artificial insemination—urges the need for Christians to have an awareness of these discoveries and to be ready to discuss the contacts between them and Christian morality with sympathy, but from the view-point of Catholic teaching and with intransigence where that teaching demands it. The July number contains a brief account of the experiment, at Marseilles and Colombes, of priests who have entered the factories as workers the better to evangelize the labouring masses. The movement has been much discussed in France, by no means always with approval, but while regarded as an experiment to which a definite time term has been set, it seems to have had, to this extent, ecclesiastical approval in some places.

A subject which must become of increasing importance for Catholic apologetic is considered in an article by F.-M. Bergounioux contributed to the current number of the quarterly *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* published by the Catholic Institute of Toulouse. It is titled "Essai de Classification Raisonnée des Hominidés Fossiles," and provides an interesting conspectus of the present state of knowledge regarding fossil man. The writer is cautious in his conclusions, but seeks to establish certain principles for determining the relations to one another of hominoid fossil types.

REVIEWS

A MODERN LIGUORI¹

AMONG theologians the world over, Father Vermeersch's name is a household word. Almost by itself this great man's verdict constituted a probable opinion in the science of Moral Theology. Only last year Cardinal van Roey wrote as follows about him: "Father Vermeersch was a transcendent personality from every point of view. I knew him well and have always held him in the deepest regard and veneration. Is it necessary to sing his praises as moralist and canonist? In these spheres he stands incontestably in the very front rank. During nearly half a century the fame of his teaching rendered illustrious the chair of the Jesuit college at Louvain, and then that of the Gregorian University at Rome. Thousands of priests and religious have imbibed his doctrines with avidity in those two institutions. His work is truly monumental, and his name is inscribed alongside the names of the most illustrious pioneers of ecclesiastical learning. Despite the crushing labour which his lecturing and writing involved, he did not forget that learning unproductive to the love of God is sterile. Never did study harden his heart, nor quench the flame of his soul of a priest. In 1916, during the darkest month of the first occupation of Belgium, he conceived the idea of organizing ten-day retreats for priests. I was at the first of them, and it made on me, as on the other thirty, a profound and unforgettable impression. We realized then, as never in previous retreats, the marvellous riches of Christian life contained in the little book of the Spiritual Exercises and the transforming use that can be made of it in the direction of souls. A man of prayer and solitude in the midst of labours the most diverse and overwhelming, faithful to the spirit and practice of penance, unremitting in toil, humble in his dealings with others, at the service of all comers, the friend of the unconsidered and the poor, such was Arthur Vermeersch. May his memory remain in benediction!"

The author of the present biography, Father Joseph Creusen, still a professor at the Gregorian, was Father Vermeersch's colleague and close friend for many years. He has written a tribute which will be valued by the many who sat under Father Vermeersch for its absolute authenticity, and by others for the inspiring portrait of a workaday saint. If I had the necessary nerve I would be tempted to say that Father Creusen is as good a biographer as he is a canonist. He has written under many difficulties a small masterpiece of portrayal, a book so satisfying that it is a pity there isn't twice as much of it. Father Vermeersch is all here, his forthrightness, virility, humour, charity unbounded, determined personal asceticism, genius; and his failings are not overlooked, as for instance, his way of rushing about and his frightful habit of banging doors. We have his great enduring tomes on our shelves, and those with no Latin can sample his quality in the Catholic Encyclopedia or better still in that masterly work, *Tolerance*, published in English by Washbourne in 1913. Now, thanks to the devotion and skill of Father Creusen, we have the man himself, and he was greater than all his works, one mighty in the law and prophets, but one mightier still in his love of God and his neighbour.

J.B.

¹*Le Père Arthur Vermeersch, S.J. : L'homme et l'oeuvre.* Par Joseph Creusen, S.J. Bruxelles: L'Édition Universelle. 1942. Pp. 224. Price not stated.

CHALLONER'S NEW TESTAMENT¹

BOTH publishers and editor deserve warm congratulations for their share in the production of the latest edition of the New Testament. The editor has already won a high reputation by his various publications and his judicious replies to queries in *The Catholic Gazette*. It is recognized that the venerable version, endeared to generations of our forefathers, which is here reprinted, is properly called the Rheims Version, Douay (Douai) being the birthplace only of the translation of the Old Testament; and the condescension of the sub-title to supposed popular prejudice is to be regretted. The type is excellent, even that of the notes being eminently readable. A most welcome feature is the return to the original paragraph printing of the text. Far too long the quite unreasonable and sense-obscuring division of the page into verse-paragraphs has held the field. How explain the adherence of earlier editors to this strange practice? In Robert Stephanus's 1555 edition of the Latin Vulgate, in which the Bible was first divided into numbered verses, the verse numbers were inserted into the text. Here, more advantageously, they are printed in the margin opposite the beginning of each verse. The size of the volume which would fit into a large coat-pocket, will be found most convenient. The current text is reproduced without alteration, and in the present shortage of Testaments it is as well that the public should not have to wait for a revision. Still it is greatly to be hoped that we may before too long have a new edition in which the substance of the Rheims Version with its familiar and felicitous phrases will be preserved as far as the requirements of accuracy allow. The excellence of the translation is attested, apart from other considerations, by the heavy indebtedness to it of King James's Authorized Version. It remains to add a word of praise for the notes, which are new. Not all will agree with the views expressed, for instance, on the use of parables, Mt. 13, 10, but in general they are excellent, both in themselves and in the selection of passages to be explained. In the note on Mt. 1, 9 *Athalia* should be read in place of *Jezabel*. E.S.

¹ *The New Testament: Douay Version*, edited with notes, by the Rev. J. P. Arendzen, D.D., Ph.D., M.A. Sheed and Ward, 1947; 6s. cloth, 8s. 6d. rexine.

PERSONALITY AND COMMUNITY¹

DURING the grim year 1942-1943, a brave French priest and scholar delivered at the Institut Catholique, Paris, the lectures on Christian civilization of which this book is composed. It is a book conceived and born in apparently irretrievable disaster, a gallant gesture of both defiance and hope; so the reader must be patient when told, as he frequently is, "que la France est, par volonté providentielle, par élection de Dieu, le porteur flambeau de la civilisation chrétienne à tous les âges et parmi tous les peuples" (italics the author's). We lesser breeds can only say that the torch-bearer has been trailing a good deal of Marxian smoke in our time, rather than the clouds of glory which, on the theory, might have been expected. But that is by the way. All nations boast; and France, at least until the Enlightenment, had achieved enough to give her a certain just priority

¹ *De la Civilisation chrétienne*. Par Pierre Fernessole, S.C.J. Paris: Beauchesne. Pp. 216. Price not stated.

at the game. The blemish apart, Père Fernessole's book is a first-rate piece of Christian apologetic. He has a real gift for summarizing lucidly huge masses of facts, and possesses, too, the art of effective quotation. One devastating quotation is from Renan—at his most conscious of the importance of being Ernest. "J'ai étudié l'Allemagne," says he, "et j'ai cru entrer dans un temple. Tout ce que j'y ai trouvé est pur, élevé, moral, beau et touchant. O mon âme, oui, c'est un trésor, c'est la continuation de Jésus-Christ. Ah ! qu'ils sont doux et forts !"

The constitutive elements of true civilization are easily discovered to be respect for the individual human person and combined with that a genuine community spirit. Nowhere except under the aegis of Christianity has such an ideal even been approached. Babylon, Greece, Rome, Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism, all these produced civilizations, but not civilization *tout court*. It is Père Fernessole's thesis, and he elaborates it with remarkable cogency and clarity, that Kant's Kingdom of Ends is not attainable here below in any measure worth considering unless transfused with Christ our Lord's Kingdom of God. Here and there one may have reserves about some of his historical surveys, but the main feeling of a reader will be one of admiration for his skill in marshalling the facts and deducing their consequences. Rarely has the miracle of the early expansion of Christianity been more tellingly argued than in this excellent book.

J.B.

THE DEW ON THE LOTUS¹

FOR Christian hearts and sympathies, Buddhism, a man-made but noble and age-old attempt to come to grips with the problem of evil, is the most tragic of the great religions, and the most impermeable. Buddhism is a living religion, still, after twenty-five centuries, controlling the lives of some two hundred million men and women. As anybody who has given the tremendous subject the least attention must be aware, the history, philosophy and theology of Buddhism are riddled with enigmas and contradictions beside which the problems of Christianity look straightforward. To our Western habits of thought, the Buddhist heaven of Nirvana seems to deny the very principle of contradiction itself. In his poem, "The Light of Asia," once a best-seller in England, Sir Edwin Arnold calmly accepted the notion of a bliss which is neither existence nor non-existence but some utterly unintelligible *tertium quid* attained by the good man made perfect :

Never shall yearnings torture him, nor sins
Stain him, nor ache of earthly joys and woes
Invade his safe eternal peace ; nor deaths
And lives recur. He goes
Unto Nirvana. He is one with Life,
Yet lives not. He is blest, ceasing to be.
OM, MANI PADME, OM ! the Dewdrop slips
Into the shining sea !

Those musical words fairly represent the central tenets of Buddhism, the denial of the worth of any human experience, the transmigration of non-existent souls, and the *summum bonum* of the dissolution of personality. By an extraordinary inversion of values, it is only the actions of the just

¹ *Les Paradoxes du Buddhism*. Par Taymann d'Eypernon, S.J. Bruxelles : L'Édition Universelle. 1947. Pp. 312. Price not stated.

which in this theology smell sweet and do *not* blossom from their dust. At every turn we are confronted with such paradoxes, to the interpretation of which Père d'Eypernon, former professor at the Pontifical Seminary of Kandy, Ceylon, addresses himself with immense learning and feelings of deepest respect. He made friends with many Buddhist monks who gladly lent him books from their libraries and amicably discussed with him such points of history or doctrine as he cared to bring up. His work has in consequence an air of freshness and authenticity quite unusual in other Occidental accounts of this most baffling and Protean religion. He has reduced technical terms to a minimum, and analyses with rare lucidity the most complex theorems of the Buddhist scriptures. His objectivity and courtesy throughout never once fail.

There has been a great renaissance of Buddhism during the past fifty years, a fact due to many causes and one which is a challenge to Christian zeal. But the first necessity is to try to enter into the Buddhist mind, a task made, if not easy at least less impossible than heretofore, by this finely discriminating book. The chapters on Nirvana, the ever elusive Nirvana about which so much nonsense has been written, on Buddhist atheism and Buddhist prayer, are particularly enlightening; and if Père d'Eypernon does not solve all the riddles he does show that there are highly interesting riddles to be solved. One cannot dismiss the convictions of two hundred million human beings as so much superstition or delusion. Besides, Buddhism as practised, and apart from its metaphysics, or lack of metaphysics, has points of contact with Christianity by means of which the teachings of Christ our Lord may, in the providence of God, one day find admittance. At present, the Dew on the Lotus shows no signs whatever of evaporating.

J.B.

SHORT NOTICES

LITERARY

The present reviewer does not care for broadcast plays and these (**Men of God: A series of six Broadcast Plays, devoted to the Story of the Hebrew Prophets.** Devised by Seton Pollock, written by Wilfrid Grantham. London: Victor Gollancz. Pp. 194. Price, 8s. 6d. n. 1947), as he thinks, suffer from being read merely, not heard. He would have liked the film too to have been used: but doubtless the music, specially written by M. Jacobsem, as an "integral part of the whole" will have been of immense assistance. The printed version is much enriched by an essay on the 'relevance' of the Prophets, and a table showing their historical 'setting' in relation to general history and (especially Greek) literature—very valuable; there are also maps showing their 'world' and their 'home'; by an essay too on the 'nomad tradition'. Another essay explains the very interesting use made of the personality of the Baptist. He is regarded as summing up in himself the long Hebrew history in which God's guidance is to be seen, and himself as *developing*, coming into existence, so to say, throughout those centuries.

Essays on 'Myth and Miracle' and 'Prophecy and Prediction', especially the former, seem if not to shirk the issue, at least to lack firm handling. The former makes it easy to admit that all 'miracle-stories'

were interpretative myths, and all predictions concerned only with what really mattered to the prophets, e.g. imminent victories or disasters, and not with "A.D. 1 to 33" any more than the events of the twentieth century. We dislike this system of "Either-Or", and we regret that the bibliography should be far too consistently "left-wing" critically.

The essays on the Lamb and (especially) Repentance are firmer: of course, we could indicate detailed slips, e.g. on p. 187 the apocalyptic Lamb is described as "sitting" upon the Throne. St. John's whole point is that it was standing upright—alive—though it had been killed. Elsewhere, the Magi are said to come to the "Inn". But St. Luke says the "house". The episode may have occurred a year or more after the Nativity. Joseph had found a house at Bethlehem, and even after his return from Egypt had meant to stay there.

But all this concerns the book as book, and not as broadcast plays. Frankly, I find colossal figures like Elijah and Isaiah and even Jeremiah too overwhelming to be packed into short scenes, much of which, naturally, is fictional framework. Given the method, the authors have been very skilful; yet even if they display the poor prophets—so disregarded nowadays—as interesting, human, rather odd personages, I doubt if the plays could be substantial enough to help readers to find their way about the original documents. The interpretation of Hosea is ingenious, and that of Amos attractive; but we may be forgiven for feeling that we ought to have heard the plays before presuming to review the book.

C. C. M.

HISTORICAL

M. Martin van den Bruwaene, author of *Le Miracle Grec*, published by L'Edition Universelle of Brussels, is concerned here with ancient Greece and with some aspects only of ancient Greece. He is Professor of Philosophy and Letters in the Brussels Institut Saint Louis. This is the first of a series of four books on the social and institutional life of the ancient world; the three volumes to come will deal with Hellenism, with Roman society and with the Roman Imperial era. It is not a work for specialists, and has in fact grown out of the lectures which M. van den Bruwaene has given for several years at the Institute.

The book is competently arranged, with the paragraph headings in darker type let into the text, with useful tables and illustrations, and an admirable bibliography prefixed to every chapter. One notes that the author relies almost exclusively on French and German works; on a subject which has been so well illuminated by English scholarship, this is a pity and a fault. Introductory sections on Egypt and Crete introduce Sparta, briefly, and at great length, Athens. The author's interests are political and constitutional. He describes the framework and setting of Athenian democracy, and its growth of political check and countercheck; the distribution of public authority and responsibility; the administration of justice, finance, industry and commerce. There are short sections on Greek art and drama and a longer chapter on Greek religion, though this is confined to an examination of the "Olympian" system, with the merest hint of Dionysiac elements and never a word about the attitude towards the popular religion of the Greek philosophers. The book is a detailed and handy introduction to several aspects, though not by any means all aspects, of Greek life in the second half of the fifth century B.C.; it will be of value to the general reading public and most suitable of all for a classical Sixth Form or undergraduate students of the humanities.

DEVOTIONAL

It is a striking little book that is offered to us in *The Blessed Trinity: foundations for a devotion*, as it is called on the dust-cover, but **Foundations for a Devotion to the Blessed Trinity** on the title-page (The Oriental Institute, 176 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta: 4/12 and 6 rupees). The author is Father G. M. Dupont, S.J., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Kurseong in the Himalayas. We must confess to some doubts as to how far the work will serve to found the devotion he desires; his own treatment of the subject is rather strongly scholastic, and if the devotion were an easy one to establish there might seem to have been the less reason for the Incarnation. Perhaps it is best that the Holy Trinity be the object of an all-pervading homage, as indeed It is, rather than become in some sense a rival to other devotions. And the proposal of devotion has not here, we think, had quite the best done for it. We read, of St. Paul, that "texts abound in his writings where the three Divine Persons are mentioned together" (p. 176), and these might have afforded a good entry into the subject; but they are not quoted, nor yet the magnificent preface of the Blessed Trinity in the Mass, nor the so-called Athanasian Creed. But to the theological student, or to the lay Catholic well-grounded in his religion, or even to the priest ready for a "refresher," the book should prove both spiritually and theologically valuable. It seems to become easier as it goes on, so that we are almost inclined to suggest reading it backwards! Much of the book may be summed up in a quotation made from St. Thomas (1 Sent. dist. 10, quest. 1, art. 1) to the effect that "it must needs be that the procession of the Divine Persons, perfect in itself, is the basis and cause of the procession of creatures" (pp. 128, 141).

Among our writers of spirituality, Mgr. Knox is one who is always worth reading, and his **Retreat for Priests** (Sheed and Ward, 10s. 6d., n.; pp. vi + 185) may be heartily recommended. The scheme followed in the meditations begins with some resemblance to the Exercises of St. Ignatius: with Creation, the use of Creatures, Sin and the Incarnation. But thereafter the pattern is less clear, the general idea seeming to be that a hard meditation and an easy one are paired off together. One misses the close articulation of the Exercises and their orderly sequence to the crowning Contemplation. Each meditation is set forth through the medium of the Old Testament. The effect of this is often pleasing and novel. We note that the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites and the crossing of the Jordan are both taken as types of baptism. This double application goes back to the Fathers, who at first used the Jordan crossing as the closest parallel to baptism, while at the close of the patristic age the more obvious but less exact parallel of the Red Sea found favour. The plan of using the Old Testament for a devotional and moral purpose is much to be commended, and may, we hope, have imitators. If the curious preference that one sees, or used to see, in the 'reformed churches' for the Old Testament as a source for sermons is unreasonable, yet the degree of neglect of this part of the inspired word, for similar purposes, which is found among Catholics, cannot be unreservedly defended.

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